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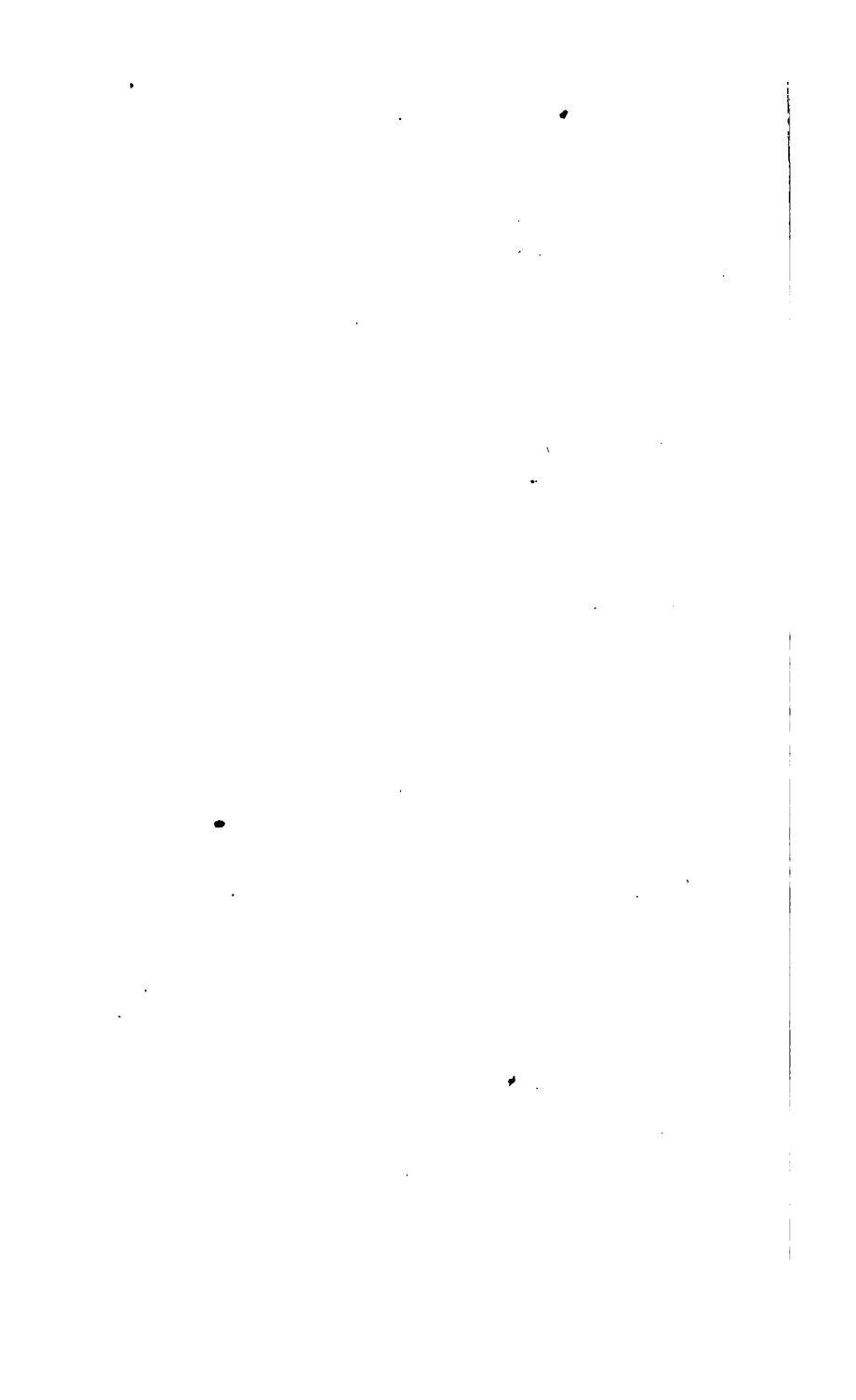




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SELECT ORATIONS

OF

CICERO,

WITH ENGLISH NOTES.

BY

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THIRD EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS,

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE present edition of the Select Orations has been entirely remodelled, with the twofold object of adapting it more closely to the needs of school-boys, and of representing the progress which has been made in the study of Cicero during the nineteen years which have elapsed since its first publication. The text is that of Halm, as given in his *last* edition¹, with the omission of some orthographical peculiarities, which, though justified by the authority of the best MSS., seemed likely to perplex younger students. The brief but excellent German commentary of that distinguished Ciceronian scholar has been constantly consulted with great advantage in the revision of the notes. References have been given throughout to the grammars of Zumpt and Madvig, and to Dr. Wm. Smith's larger *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. For the notes distinguished by the letter C, as for the English introductions to the several Orations, the present editor is solely responsible.

¹ *Cicero's Ausgewählte Reden, erklärt von Karl Halm, Berlin, 1863.*

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SELECT ORATIONS OF CICERO.

I. ACCUSATIONIS IN C. VERREM

LIBER QUARTUS. DE SIGNIS.

ARGUM.—Hoc in libro Cicero quum alia Siciliae ornamenta publica pariter ac privata, tum maxime Deorum signa, a Verre per furtum abacta, et falsam esse coarguit defensionem Hortensii, coempta illa esse contendit. Nam neque per leges licere magistratibus in provinciis mercari quidquam, et ea esse pretia, ut bona non possint non rapta judicari.

I. VENIO nunc ad istius, quem ad modum ipse appellat, studium, ut amici ejus, morbum et insaniam, ut Siculi, latrocinium: ego quo nomine appellem, nescio; rem vobis proponam: vos eam suo, non nominis pondere penditote. Genus ipsum prius cognoscite, iudices; deinde fortasse non magno opere quaeritis, quo id nomine appellandum putetis. Nego in Sicilia tota, tam locupleti, tam vetere provincia, tot oppidis, tot familiis tam copiosis, ullum argenteum vas, ullum Corinthium aut Deliacum fuisse, ullam gemmam aut margaritam, quicquam ex auro aut ebore factum, signum ullum aëneum, marmoreum, eburneum, nego ullam picturam neque in tabula neque in textili, quin acquisierit, inspexerit, quod placitum sit abstulerit. Magnum videor dicere: attendite etiam, quem ad modum dicam. Non enim verbi neque criminis augendi causa complector omnia: cum dico nihil istum ejus modi rerum in tota provincia reliquisse, Latine me

scitote, non accusatorie loqui; etiam planius: nihil in ædibus cujusquam ne in hospitis quidem, nihil in locis communibus, ne in fanis quidem, nihil apud Siculum, nihil apud civem Romanum, denique nihil istum, quod ad oculos animumque acciderit, neque privati neque publici, neque profani neque sacri tota in Sicilia reliquisse.

- 3 Unde igitur potius incipiam quam ab ea civitate, quæ tibi una in amore atque in deliciis fuit? aut ex quo potius numero quam ex ipsis laudatoribus tuis? Facilius enim perspicietur, qualis apud eos fueris, qui te oderunt, qui accusant, qui persequuntur, cum apud tuos Mamertinos inveniari improbissima ratione esse prædatus.

- II. C. Heius est Mamertinus—omnes hoc mihi, qui Messanam accesserunt, facile concedunt—omnibus rebus illa in civitate ornatissimus. Hujus domus est vel optima Messanæ, notissima quidem certe et nostris hominibus apertissima maximeque hospitalis. Ea domus ante istius adventum ornata sic fuit, ut urbi quoque esset ornamento. Nam ipsa Messana, quæ situ, mœnibus portuque ornata sit, ab his rebus, quibus iste
4 delectatur, sane vacua atque nuda est. Erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate in ædibus, a majoribus traditum, perantiquum, in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor summo artificio, summa nobilitate, quæ non modo istum hominem ingeniosum et intelligentem, verum etiam quemvis nostrum, quos iste idiotas appellat, delectare possent, unum Cupidinis marmoreum Praxiteli; nimirum didici etiam, dum in istum inquiri, artificum nomina. Idem, opinor, artifex ejusdem modi Cupidinem fecit illum, qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespiæ visuntur; nam alia visendi causa nulla est. Atque ille L. Mummius, cum Thespiadas, quæ ad ædem Felicitatis sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido signa tolleret, hunc marmoreum Cupidinem, quod erat consecratus, non attigit.

- 5 III. Verum ut ad illud sacrarium redeam, signum erat hoc quod dico Cupidinis e marmore, ex altera parte Hercules, egregie factus ex ære. Is dicebatur esse Myronis, ut opinor, et recte. Item ante hos deos erant arulæ, quæ cuius religionem sacrarii significare possent.

Erant aënea duo præterea signa, non maxima, verum eximia venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quæ manibus sublatis sacra quædam more Atheniensium virginum reposita in capitibus sustinebant. Cane-phorce ipsæ vocabantur. 'Sed earum artificem quem?' Quemnam? recte admones: Polyclitum esse dicebant. Messanam ut quisque nostrum venerat, hæc visere solebat: omnibus hæc ad visendum patebant quotidie, domus erat non domino magis ornamento quam civitati. C. Claudius, cujus ædilitatem magnificentissimam⁶ scimus fuisse, usus est hoc Cupidine tam diu, dum forum dis immortalibus populoque Romano habuit ornatum; et, cum hospes esset Heiorum, Mamertini autem populi patronus, ut illis benignis usus est ad commodandum, sic ipse diligens fuit ad reportandum. Nuper homines nobiles ejus modi, judices, sed quid dico nuper? immo vero modo ac plane paullo ante vidimus, qui forum et basilicas non spoliis provinciarum, sed ornamentis amicorum, commodis hospitum, non furtis nocentium ornarent, qui tamen signa atque ornamenta sua cuique reddebant, non ablata ex urbibus sociorum atque amicorum quadridui causa per simulationem ædilitatis, domum deinde atque ad suas villas auferebant. Hæc omnia quæ dixi signa, judices, ab Heio e⁷ sacrario Verres abstulit: nullum, inquam, horum reliquit neque aliud ullum tamen præter unum pervetus ligneum, Bonam Fortunam, ut opinor; eam iste habere domi suæ noluit.

IV. Pro deum hominumque fidem! quid hoc est? quæ hæc causa est, quæ ista impudentia? Quæ dico signa, ante quam abs te sublata sunt, nemo Messanam cum imperio venit quin viserit. Tot prætores, tot consules in Sicilia cum in pace, tum etiam in bello fuerunt, tot homines cujusque modi—non loquor de integris, innocentibus, religiosis,—tot cupidi, tot improbi, tot audaces, quorum nemo sibi tam vehemens, tam potens, tam nobilis visus est, qui ex illo sacrario quicquam poscere aut tollere aut attingere auderet. Verres quod ubique erit pulcherrimum auferet? nihil habere cuiquam præterea licebit? tot domus locupletissimas istius domus una capiet? idcirco nemo superiorum attigit, ut hic tolleretur? ideo C. Claudius Pulcher

rettulit, ut C. Verres posset auferre? At non requirebat ille Cupido lenonis domum ac meretriciam disciplinam: facile illo sacrario patrio continebatur; Heio se a majoribus relictum esse sciebat in hereditate sacrorum, non quærebat meretricis heredem.

8 Sed quid ego tam vehementer invehor? verbo uno repellar: 'emi' inquit. Di immortales, præclaram defensionem! Mercatorem in provinciam cum imperio ac securibus misimus, omnia qui signa, tabulas pictas, omne argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas cõmeret, nihil cuiquam relinqueret: hæc enim mihi ad omnia defensio patefieri videtur 'emisse.' Primum, si id quod vis tibi ego concedam, ut emeris, quoniam in toto hoc genere hac una defensione usus es: quæro, cujus modi tu judicia Romæ putaris esse, si tibi hoc quemquam concessurum putasti, te in prætura atque imperio tot res, tam pretiosas, omnes denique res, quæ alicujus pretii fuerint, tota ex provincia cõmissee.

9 V. Videte majorum diligentiam, qui nihil dum etiam istius modi suspicabantur, verum tamen ea, quæ parvis in rebus accidere poterant, providebant. Neminem, qui cum potestate aut legatione in provinciam esset profectus, tam amentem fore putaverunt, ut emeret argentum—dabatur enim de publico,—ut vestem—præbebatur enim legibus:—mancipium putarunt, quo et omnes utimur et non præbetur a populo. Sanxerunt 'ne quis emeret nisi in demortui locum.' Si qui Romæ esset demortuus? immo, si quis ibidem. Non enim te instruere domum tuam voluerunt in

10 provincia, sed illum usum provinciæ supplere. Quæ fuit causa, cur tam diligenter nos in provinciis ab emptionibus removerent? Hæc, judices, quod putabant ereptionem esse, non emptionem, cum venditori suo arbitrato vendere non liceret. In provinciis intelligebant si is, qui esset cum imperio ac potestate, quod apud quemque esset emere vellet idque ei liceret, fore uti quod quisque vellet, sive esset venale sive non esset, quanti vellet auferret. Dicet aliquis: 'noli isto modo agere cum Verre, noli ejus facta ad antiquæ religionis rationem exquirere: concede ut impune emerit, modo ut bona ratione emerit, nihil pro potestate, nihil ab invito, nihil per injuriam.' Sic agam: si quid venale

habuit Heius, si id, quanti æstimabat, tanti vendidit, desino quærere cur emeris.

VI. Quid igitur nobis faciendum est? num argu- 11
mentis utendum in re ejus modi? Quærendum credo
est, Heius iste num æs alienum habuerit, num auctio-
nem fecerit: si fecit, num tanta difficultas eum rei
nummarie tenuerit, tanta egestas, tanta vis presserit,
ut sacrarium suum spoliaret, ut deos patrios venderet.
At hominem video auctionem fecisse nullam, vendidisse
præter fructus suos nihil umquam, non modo in ære
alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse et semper
fuisse: si hæc contra ac dico essent omnia, tamen
illum hæc, quæ tot annos in familia sacrarioque ma-
jorum fuissent, venditurum non fuisse. 'Quid, si mag-
nitudine pecunie persuasum est?' Veri simile non est
ut ille homo tam locuples, tam honestus religioni
sue monumentisque majorum pecuniam anteponeret.
'Sunt ista, verum tamen abducuntur homines non 12
numquam etiam ab institutis suis magnitudine pecu-
niæ.' Videamus, quanta ista pecunia fuerit, quæ
potuerit Heium, hominem maxime locupletem, minime
avarum, ab humanitate, a pietate, a religione deducere.
Ita jussisti, opinor, ipsum in tabulas referre: 'hæc
omnia signa Praxiteli, Myronis, Polycliti sestertium
sex milibus quingentis Verri vendita.' Sic rettulit:
recita. EX TABULIS. Juvat me hæc præclara nomina
artificum, quæ isti ad cælum ferunt, Verris æstimatione
sic concidisse. Cupidinem Praxiteli sestertium MDC!
Profecto hinc natum est 'malo emere quam rogare.'

VII. Dicet aliquis: 'quid? tu ista permagno æsti- 13
mas?' Ego vero ad meam rationem usumque meum
non æstimo: verum tamen a vobis ita arbitror spectari
oportere, quanti hæc eorum judicio, qui studiosi sunt
harum rerum, æstimentur, quanti venire soleant, quanti
hæc ipsa, si palam libereque venirent, venire possent;
denique ipse Verres quanti æstimet. Numquam, si
x.cccc Cupidinem illum putasset, commisisset ut prop-
ter eum in sermonem hominum atque in tantam vitu-
perationem veniret. Quis vestrum igitur nescit, quanti
hæc æstimentur? In auctione signum aëneum non 14
maximum sestertium XL milibus venire non vidimus?
Quid, si velim nominare homines, qui aut non minoris

aut etiam pluris emerint, nonne possum? Etenim qui modus est in his rebus cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis; difficile est enim finem facere pretio, si libidini non feceris. Video igitur Heium neque voluntate neque difficultate aliqua temporis nec magnitudine pecuniæ adductum esse ut hæc signa venderet, teque ista simulatione emptionis vi metu, imperio fascibus ab homine eo, quem una cum ceteris sociis non solum potestati tuæ, sed etiam fidei populus Romanus commiserat, eripuisse atque abstulisse.

- 15 Quid mihi tam optandum, iudices, potest esse in hoc crimine quam ut hæc eadem dicat ipse Heius? Nihil profecto, sed ne difficilia optemus. 'Heius est Mamertinus; Mamertina civitas istum publice communi consilio sola laudat; omnibus iste ceteris Siculis odio est, ab his solis amatur; ejus autem legationis, quæ ad istum laudandum missa est, princeps est Heius—etenim est primus civitatis:—ne forte, dum publicis mandatis
- 16 serviat, de privatis injuriis reticeat.' Hæc cum scirem et cogitarem, commisi tamen, iudices, Heio, produxi prima actione, neque id tamen ullo periculo feci. Quid enim poterat Heius respondere, si esset improbus, si sui dissimilis? esse illa signa domi suæ, non esse apud Verrem? Qui poterat quicquam ejus modi dicere? Ut homo turpissimus esset impudentissimeque mentiretur, hoc diceret, illa se habuisse venalia eaque sese quanti voluerit vendidisse. Homo domi suæ nobilissimus, qui vos de religione sua ac dignitate vere existimare maxime vellet, primo dixit se istum publice laudare, quod sibi ita mandatum esset; deinde neque se habuisse illa venalia neque ulla condicione, si utrum vellet liceret, adduci umquam potuisse ut venderet illa, quæ in sacrario fuissent, a majoribus suis relicta et tradita.
- 17 VIII. Quid sedes, Verres? quid exspectas? quid te a Centuripina civitate, a Catinensi, ab Halæsina, a Tyndaritana, Hennensi, Agyrinensi ceterisque Siciliæ civitatibus circumveniri atque opprimi dicis? tua te altera patria, quem ad modum dicere solebas, Messana circumvenit; tua, inquam, Messana, tuorum adjutrix scelerum, libidinum testis, prædarum ac furtorum receptrix. Adest enim vir amplissimus ejus civitatis,

legatus hujus judicii causa domo missus, princeps laudationis tuæ: qui te publice laudat—ita enim mandatum atque imperatum est,—tametsi rogatus de cybæa tenetis memoria quid responderit: ædificatam publicis operis, publice coactis, eique ædificandæ publice Mamertinum senatorem præfuisse. Idem ad vos privatim, judices, confugit; utitur hac lege, qua judicium est, communi arce sociorum. Tam etsi lex est de pecuniis repetundis, ille se negat pecuniam repetere, quam ereptam non tanto opere desiderat: sacra se majorum suorum repetere abs te dicit, deos penates te patrios reposit. Ecqui pudor est? ecquæ religio, Verres? 18 eoqui metus? Habitasti apud Heium Messanæ; res illum divinas apud eos deos in suo sacrario prope quotidie facere vidisti; non movetur pecunia, denique quæ ornamenti causa fuerunt, non requirit; tibi habe Canephoros: deorum simulacra restitue.

Quæ quia dixit, quia tempore dato modeste apud vos socius amicusque populi Romani questus est, quia religioni suæ non modo in dis patriis repetendis, sed etiam in ipso testimonio ac jure jurando proximus fuit, hominem missum ab isto scitote esse Messanam, de legatis unum, illum ipsum, qui navi istius ædificandæ publicæ præfuit, qui a senatu peteret ut Heius adficeretur ignominia. IX. Homo amentissime, quid putasti? 19 impetraturum te? quanti a civibus suis fieret, quanti auctoritas ejus haberetur, ignorabas? Verum fac te impetravisse; fac aliquid gravius in Heium statuisse Mamertinos: quantam putas auctoritatem laudationis eorum futuram, si in eum, quem constat verum pro testimonio dixisse, pœnam constituerint?

Tametsi quæ est ista laudatio, cum laudator interrogatus lædat necesse est? Quid? isti laudatores tui nonne testes mei sunt? Heius est laudator: læsit gravissime. Producam ceteros: reticebunt quæ poterunt libenter, dicent quæ necesse erit ingratiis. Negent isti onerariam navem maximam ædificatam esse Messanæ? negent, si possunt. Negent ei navi senatorem Mamertinum publice præfuisse? utinam negent! Sunt etiam cetera, quæ malo integra reservare, ut quam minimum dem illis temporis ad meditandum confirmandumque perjurium. Hæc tibi laudatio procedat in 20

numerum; hi te homines auctoritate sua sublevant, qui te neque debent adjuvare, si possint, neque possunt, si velint; quibus tu privatim injurias plurimas contumeliasque imposuisti, quo in oppido multas familias totas in perpetuum infames tuis stupris flagitiisque fecisti. At publice commodasti. Non sine magno quidem rei

- 21 publicæ provinciæque Siciliae detrimento. Triticum modium LX milia emptæ populo Romano dare debebant et solebant: abs te solo remissum est. Res publica detrimentum fecit, quod per te imperii jus in una civitate imminutum est; Siculi, quod ipsum non de summa frumenti detractum est, sed translatum in Centuripinos et Halesinos, immunes populos, et hoc plus impositum, quam ferre possent. Navem imperare ex fœdere debuisti: remisisti in triennium, militem nullum umquam poposcisti per tot annos. Fecisti item, ut prædones solent: qui cum hostes communes sint omnium, tamen aliquos sibi instituunt amicos, quibus non modo parcant, verum etiam præda quos augeant, et eos maxime, qui habent oppidum opportuno loco, quo sæpe adeundum sit navibus, non numquam etiam necessario.

- 22 X. Phaselis illa, quam cepit P. Servilius, non fuerat urbs antea Cilicum atque prædonum: Lycii illam, Græci homines, incolebant. Sed quod erat ejus modi loco atque ita projecta in altum, ut et exeuntes e Cilicia prædones sæpe ad eam necessario devenirent et, cum se ex hisce locis reciperent, eodem deferrentur, adsciverunt sibi illud oppidum piratæ, primo commercio, deinde etiam societate. Mamertina civitas improba antea non erat, etiam erat inimica improborum, quæ C. Catonis, illius qui consul fuit, impedimenta retinuit. At cujus hominis! clarissimi ac potentissimi, qui tamen, cum consul fuisset, condemnatus est. Ita C. Cato, duorum hominum clarissimorum nepos, L. Paulli et M. Catonis, et P. Africani sororis filius **: quo damnato tunc, cum severa judicia fiebant, HS. XIII milibus lis æstimata est. Huic Mamertini irati fuerunt, qui majorem sumptum, quam quanti Catonis lis æstimata est, in
- 23 Timarchidi prandium sæpe fecerunt. Verum hæc civitas isti prædoni ac piratæ Siciliensi Phaselis fuit. Huc omnia undique deferebantur, apud istos relinque-

bantur; quod celari opus erat, habebant sepositum et reconditum; per istos quæ volebat clam imponenda, occulte exportanda curabat; navem denique maximam, quam onustam furtis in Italiam mitteret, apud istos faciendam ædificandamque curavit: pro hisce rebus vacatio data est ab isto sumptus, laboris, militiæ, rerum denique omnium: per triennium soli non modo in Sicilia, verum, ut opinio mea fert, his quidem temporibus in omni orbe terrarum vacui, expertes, soluti ac liberi fuerunt ab omni sumptu, molestia, munere. Hinc 24 illa Verria nata sunt, quod in convivium Sex. Cominium protrahi jussit, in quem scyphum de manu jacere conatus est, quem obtorta gula de convivio in vincla atque in tenebras abripi jussit: hinc illa crux, in quam iste civem Romanum multis inspectantibus sustulit, quam non ausus est usquam defigere nisi apud eos, quibuscum omnia scelera sua ac latrocinia communificavit.

XI. Laudatum etiam vos quemquam venitis? qua auctoritate? utrum quam apud senatum, an quam apud populum Romanum habere debetis? Ecqua 25 civitas est, non in provinciis nostris, verum in ultimis nationibus, aut tam potens aut tam libera aut etiam tam immanis ac barbara, rex denique ecquis est, qui senatorem populi Romani tecto ac domo non invitet? qui honos non homini solum habetur, sed primum populo Romano, cujus beneficio nos in hunc ordinem venimus, deinde ordinis auctoritati, quæ nisi gravis erit apud socios et exterarum nationes, ubi erit imperii nomen et dignitas? Mamertini me publice non invitarunt. Me cum dico, leve est: senatorem populi Romani si non invitarunt, honorem debitum detraxerunt non homini, sed ordini. Nam ipsi Tullio patebat domus locupletissima Cn. Pompei Basilisci, quo, etiam si esset invitatus a vobis, tamen devertisset; erat etiam Percenniorum, qui nunc item Pompei sunt, domus honestissima, quo Lucius frater meus summa illorum voluntate devertit. Senator populi Romani, quod in vobis fuit, in vestro oppido jacuit et pernoctavit in publico. Nulla hoc civitas umquam alia commisit. 'Amicum enim nostrum in judicium vocabas.' Tu,

- quid ego privatim negotii geram, interpretabere immi-
26 nuendo honore senatorio? Verum hæc tum queremur,
si quid de vobis per eum ordinem agetur, qui ordo a
vobis adhuc solis contemptus est: in populi Romani
quidem conspectum quo ore vos commisistis? nec prius
illam crucem, quæ etiam nunc civis Romani sanguine
redundat, quæ fixa est ad portum urbemque vestram,
revellistis neque in profundum abjecistis locumque illum
omnem expiastis, quam Romam atque in horum con-
ventum adiretis? In Mamertinorum solo foederato
atque pacato monumentum istius crudelitatis constitu-
tum est. Vestrane urbs electa est, ad quam cum
adirent ex Italia, crucem civis Romani prius quam
quemquam amicum populi Romani viderent? quam
vos Reginis, quorum civitati invidetis, itemque incolis
vestris, civibus Romanis, ostendere soletis, quo minus
sibi adrogent minusque vos despiciant, cum videant
jus civitatis illo supplicio esse mactatum.
- 27 XII. Verum hæc emissee te dicis. Quid? illa Atta-
lica tota Sicilia nominata ab eodem Heio [peripetasma-
mata] emere oblitus es? Licuit eodem modo ut signa.
Quid enim actum est? an litteris pepercisti? Verum
hominem amentem hoc fugit: minus clarum puta-
vit fore, quod de armario, quam quod de sacrario
esset ablatum. At quo modo abstulit? non possum
dicere planius, quam ipse apud vos dixit Heius. Cum
quæsissem, num quid aliud de bonis ejus pervenisset ad
Verrem, respondit istum ad se misisse, ut sibi mitteret
Agrigentum peripetasmata. Quæsi, num misisset:
respondit, id quod necesse erat, se dicto audientem
fuisse prætori, misisse. Rogavi, pervenissentne Agri-
gentum: dixit pervenisse. Quæsi, quem ad modum
revertissent: negavit adhuc revertisse. Risus populi
28 atque admiratio omnium vestrum facta est. Hic tibi
in mentem non venit jubere, ut hæc quoque referret
sestertium VI milibus quingentis se tibi vendidisse?
Metuisti ne æs alienum tibi creâceret, si sestertium VI
milibus quingentis tibi constarent ea, quæ tu facile
posses vendere sestertium ducentis milibus? Fuit
tanti, mihi crede: haberes quod defenderes; nemo
quæreret, quanti illa res esset; si modo te posses do-

cere emisse, facile cui velles tuam causam et factum probares: nunc de peripetasmatis quem ad modum te expedias, non habes.

Quid? a Phylarcho Centuripino, homine locuplete 29 ac nobili, phaleras pulcherrime factas, quæ regis Hieronis fuisse dicuntur, utrum tandem abstulisti an emisti? In Sicilia quidem cum essem, sic a Centuripinis, sic a ceteris audiebam—non enim parum res erat clara:—tam te has phaleras a Phylarcho Centuripino abstulisse dicebant, quam alias item nobiles ab Aristo Panhormitano, quam tertias a Cratippo Tyndaritano. Etenim si Phylarchus vendidisset, non ei, postea quam reus factus es, redditurum te promisses. Quod quia vidisti plures scire, cogitasti, si ei reddidisses, te minus habiturum, rem nihilo minus testatam futuram: non reddidisti. Dixit Phylarchus pro testimonio se, quod nosset tuum istum morbum, ut amici tui appellant, cupisse te celare de phaleris: cum abs te appellatus esset, negasse habere sese, apud alium quoque eas habuisse depositas, ne qua invenirentur: istius tantam fuisse sagacitatem, ut eas per illum ipsum inspiceret, ubi erant depositæ: tum se deprehensum negare non potuisse: ita ab se invito phaleras ablatas gratiis.

XIII. Jam, ut hæc omnia reperire ac perscrutari 30 solitus sit, iudices, est operæ pretium cognoscere. Cibyrate sunt fratres quidam, Tlepolemus et Hiero, quorum alterum fingere opinor e cera solitum esse, alterum esse pictorem. Hosce, opinor, Cibyram cum in suspicionem venissent suis civibus fanum expilasse Apollinis, veritos pœnam iudicii ac legis domo profugisse. Quod Verrem artificii sui cupidum cognoverant tum, cum iste, id quod ex testibus didicistis, Cibyram cum inanibus syngraphis venerat, domo fugientes ad eum se exules, cum iste esset in Asia, contulerunt. Habuit eos secum illo tempore et in legationis prædis atque furtis multum illorum opera consilioque usus est. Hi 31 sunt illi, quibus in tabulis refert sese Q. Tadius dedisse jussu istius, Græcis pictoribus. Eos jam bene cognitos et re probatos secum in Siciliam duxit. Quo postea quam venerunt, mirandum in modum—canes venaticos diceres—ita odorabantur omnia et pervestigabant, ut, ubi quidque esset, aliqua ratione invenirent. Aliud

minando aliud pollicendo, aliud per servos aliud per liberos, per amicum aliud, aliud per inimicum inveniebant: quidquid illis placuerat, perdendum erat. Nihil aliud optabant quorum poscebatur argentum, nisi ut id Hieroni et Tlepolemo displiceret.

- 32 XIV. Verum me hercule hoc, iudices, dicam. Memini Pamphilum Lilybætanum, amicum et hospitem meum, nobilem hominem, mihi narrare, cum iste ab sese hydriam Boethi manu factam, præclaro opere et grandi pondere, per potestatem abstulisset, se sane tristem et conturbatum domum revertisse, quod vas ejus modi, quod sibi a patre et majoribus esset relictum, quo solitus esset uti ad festos dies, ad hospitum adventus, a se esset ablatum. 'Cum sederem,' inquit, 'domi tristis, accurrit Venerius: jubet me scyphos sigillatos ad prætorem statim adferre. Permotus sum,' inquit; 'binos habebam: jubeo promi utrosque, ne quid plus mali nasceretur, et mecum ad prætoris domum ferri. Eo cum venio, prætor quiescebat; fratres illi Cibratæ inambulabant. Qui me ubi viderunt, "ubi sunt, Pamphile," inquirunt, "scyphi?" Ostendo tristis: laudant. Incipio queri me nihil habiturum, quod alicujus esset pretii, si etiam scyphi essent ablati. Tum illi, ubi me conturbatum vident, "quid vis nobis dare, ut isti abs te ne auferantur?" Ne multa, sestertios cito me,' inquit, 'poposcerunt: dixi me daturum. Vocat interea prætor; poscit scyphos.' Tum illos cœpisse prætori dicere, putasse se, id quod audissent, alicujus pretii scyphos esse Pamphili: luteum negotium esse, non dignum, quod in suo argento Verres haberet. Ait ille idem sibi videri. Ita Pamphilus scyphos optimos aufert.

- 33 Et me hercule ego antea, tametsi hoc nescio quid nugatorium sciebam esse, ista intelligere, tamen mirari solebam istum in his ipsis rebus aliquem sensum habere, quem scirem nulla in re quicquam simile hominis habere. XV. Tum primum intellexi ad eam rem istos fratres Cibratas fuisse, ut iste in furando manibus suis, oculis illorum uteretur. At ita studiosus est hujus præclaræ existimationis, ut putetur in hisce rebus intelligens esse, ut nuper—videte hominis amentiam,—postea quam est comperendinatus, cum jam pro dam-

nato mortuoque esset, ludis circensibus mane apud L. Sisennam, virum primarium, cum essent triclinia strata argentumque expositum in ædibus, cum pro dignitate L. Sisennæ domus esset plena hominum honestissimorum: accessit ad argentum, contemplari unum quidque otiose et considerare cœpit. Mirari stultitiam alii, quod in ipso iudicio ejus ipsius cupiditatis, cujus insimularetur, suspicionem auget, alii amentiam, cui comperendinato, cum tam multi testes dixissent, quicquam illorum veniret in mentem. Pueri autem Sisennæ, credo qui audissent, quæ in istum testimonia essent dicta, oculos de isto nusquam dejicere neque ab argento digitorum discedere. Est boni iudicis parvis ex rebus 34 conjecturam facere unius cujusque cupiditatis et continentiae. Qui reus, et reus lege comperendinatus, re et opinione hominum pæne damnatus, temperare non potuerit maximo conventu, quin L. Sisennæ argentum tractaret et consideraret, hunc prætorem in provincia quisquam putabit a Siculorum argento cupiditatem aut manus abstinere potuisse?

XVI. Verum uti Lilybæum, unde digressa est oratio, 35 revertamur, Diocles est, Pamphili gener illius, a quo hydria ablata est, Popilius cognomine. Ab hoc abaci vasa omnia, ut exposita fuerunt, abstulit. Dicat se licet emisse: etenim hic propter magnitudinem furti sunt, ut opinor, litteræ factæ. Jussit Timarchidem aestimare argentum, quo modo qui umquam tenuissime in donationem histrionum aestimavit. Tametsi jam dudum ego erro, qui tam multa de tuis emptionibus verba faciam et quæram, utrum emeris necne, et quo modo et quanti emeris, quod verbo transigere possum. Ede mihi scriptum, quid in provincia Sicilia pararis, unde quidque aut quanti emeris. Quid fit? quamquam 36 non debebam ego abs te has litteras poscere; me enim tabulas tuas habere et proferre oportebat: verum negas te horum annorum aliquot confecisse. Compone hoc quod postulo de argento, de reliquo videro. 'Nec scriptum habeo nec possum edere.' Quid futurum igitur est? quid existimas hos iudices facere posse? Domus plena signorum pulcherrimorum jam ante præturam; multa ad villas tuas posita, multa deposita apud amicos, multa aliis data atque donata: tabulæ nullum

inducant emptum. Omne argentum ablatum ex Sicilia est, nihil cuiquam, quod suum dici vellet, relictum; fingitur improba defensio, prætorem omne id argentum coëmissee: tamen id ipsum tabulis demonstrari non potest. Si, quas tabulas profers, in iis, quæ habes, quo modo habeas, scriptum non est, horum autem temporum, cum te plurimas res enissee dicis, tabulas omnino nullas profers, nonne te et prolatis et non prolatis tabulis condemnari necesse est?

- 37 XVII. Tu a M. Cælio, equite Romano, lectissimo adolescente, quæ voluisti Lilybæi abstulisti; tu C. Cæcurii, prompti hominis et experientis et in primis gratiosi, suppellectilem omnem auferre non dubitasti: tu maximam et pulcherrimam mensam citream a Q. Lutatius Diodoro, qui Q. Catuli beneficio ab L. Sulla civis Romanus factus est, omnibus scientibus Lilybæi abstulisti. Non tibi objicio, quod hominem dignissimum tuis moribus, Apollonium, Niconis filium, Drepanitanum, qui nunc A. Claudius vocatur, omni argento optime facto spoliasti ac depeculatus es; taceo. Non enim putat ille sibi injuriam factam, propterea quod homini jam perditio et collum in laqueum inserenti subvenisti, cum pupillis Drepanitanis bona patria erepta cum illo partitus es. Gaudeo etiam, si quid ab eo abstulisti, et abs te nihil rectius factum esse dico. Ab Lysone vero Lilybætano, primo homine, apud quem deversatus es, Apollinis signum ablatum certe non oportuit. Dices te emissee. Scio, sestertiis cio—ita opinor—; scio, inquam, proferam litteras: tamen id factum non oportuit. A pupillo Heio, cui C. Marcellus tutor est, a quo pecuniam grandem eripueras, scaphia cum emblematis Lilybæi utrum emptæ esse dicis an confiteris erepta? Sed quid ego istius in ejus modi rebus mediocres injurias colligo, quæ tantum modo in furtis istius et damnis eorum, a quibus auferbat, versatæ esse videantur? Accipite, si vultis, judices, rem ejus modi, ut amentiam singularem et furorem jam, non cupiditatem ejus perspicere possitis.

XVIII. Melitensis Diodorus est, qui apud vos antea testimonium dixit. Is Lilybæi multos jam annos habitat, homo et domi nobilis et apud eos, quo se contulit, propter virtutem splendidus et gratus. De hoc

Verri dicitur, habere eum perbona toreumata, in iis pocula quædam, quæ Thericlia nominantur, Mentoris manu summo artificio facta. Quod iste ubi audivit, sic cupiditate inflammatus est non solum inspiciendi, verum etiam auferendi, ut Diodorum ad se vocaret ac posceret. Ille, qui illa non invitus haberet, respondit Lilybæi se non habere, Melitæ apud quendam propinquum suum reliquisse. Tum iste continuo mittit 39 homines certos Melitam, scribit ad quosdam Melitenses ut ea vasa perquirant, rogat Diodorum ut ad illum propinquum suum det litteras: nihil ei longius videbatur, quam dum illud videret argentum. Diodorus, homo frugi ac diligens, qui sua servare vellet, ad propinquum suum scribit, ut iis, qui a Verre venissent, responderet illud argentum se paucis illis diebus misisse Lilybæum. Ipse interea recedit; abesse a domo paulisper maluit quam præsens illud optime factum argentum amittere. Quod ubi iste audivit, usque eo commotus est, ut sine ulla dubitatione insanire omnibus ac furere videretur. Quia non potuerat eripere argentum ipse, a Diodoro erepta sibi vasa optime facta dicebat: minitari absentem [Diodoro], vociferari palam, lacrimas interdum vix tenere. Eriphylam accepimus in fabulis ea cupiditate, ut, cum vidisset monile, ut opinor, ex auro et gemmis, pulchritudine ejus incensa salutem viri proderet. Similis istius cupiditas, hoc etiam acrior atque insanior, quod illa cupiebat id quod viderat, hujus libidines non solum oculis, sed etiam auribus excitabantur.

XIX. Conquiri Diodorum tota provincia jubet. Ille 40 ex Sicilia jam castra commoverat et vasa collegerat. Homo, ut aliquo modo in provinciam illum revocaret, hanc excogitat rationem, si hæc ratio potius quam amentia nominanda est. Apponit de suis canibus quendam, qui dicat se Diodorum Melitensem rei capitalis reum velle facere. Primo mirum omnibus videri Diodorum reum, hominem quietissimum, ab omni non modo facinoris, verum etiam minimi errati suspitione remotissimum, deinde esse perspicuum, fieri omnia illa propter argentum. Iste non dubitat jubere nomen deferri, et tum primum, ut opinor, istum absentis nomen recepisse. Res clara Sicilia tota, 41

propter cælati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium, neque solum reos fieri, sed etiam absentes. Diodorus Romæ sordidatus circum patronos atque hospites cursare, rem omnibus narrare. Litteræ mittuntur isti a patre vehementes, ab amicis item, videret, quid ageret de Diodoro, quo progrediretur: rem claram esse et invidiosam; insanire hominem, periturum hoc uno crimine, nisi cavisset. Iste etiam tum patrem, si non in parentis, at in hominum numero putabat: ad iudicium nondum se satis instruxerat; primus annus erat provinciæ, non, ut in Sthenio, jam refertus pecunia. Itaque furor ejus paullulum non pudore, sed metu ac timore repressus est. Condemnare Diodorum non audet absentem: de reis eximit. Diodorus interea prætor

- 42 isto prope triennium provincia domoque caruit. Ceteri, non solum Siculi, sed etiam cives Romani hoc statuerant, quoniam iste tantum cupiditate progrediretur, nihil esse quod quisquam putaret se, quod isti paullo magis placeret, conservare aut domi retinere posse: postea vero quam intellexerunt isti virum fortem, quem summe provincia expectabat, Q. Arrium non succedere, statuerunt nihil se tam clausum neque tam reconditum posse habere, quod non istius cupiditati apertissimum promptissimumque esset.

- XX. Tum iste ab equite Romano splendido et gratioso, Cn. Calidio, cujus filium sciebat senatorem populi Romani et iudicem esse, equuleos argenteos nobiles, qui Q. Maximi fuerant, aufert. Imprudens huc
43 incidi, iudices; emit enim, non abstulit: nollem dixissem; jactabit se et in his equitabit eculeis. 'Emi, pecuniam solvi.' Credo. 'Etiam tabulæ proferentur.' Est tanti, cedo tabulas: dilue sane crimen hoc Calidianum, dum ego tabulas adspicere possim. Verum tamen quid erat quod Calidius Romæ quereretur se, cum tot annos in Sicilia negotiaretur, a te solo ita esse contemptum, ita despectum, ut etiam una cum ceteris Siculis despoliaretur? Si emeras, quid erat quod confirmabat se abs te argentum esse repetiturum, si id tibi sua voluntate vendiderat? Tu porro posses facere, ut Cn. Calidio non redderes, præsertim cum is L. Sisenna, defensore tuo, tam familiariter uteretur, et cum ceteris
44 familiaribus Siaennæ reddidisses? Denique non opinor

negaturum esse te homini honesto, sed non gratiosiori, quam Cn. Calidius est, L. Curidio, te argentum per Potamonem, amicum tuum, reddidisse. Qui quidem ceterorum causam apud te difficiliorem fecit. Nam cum te compluribus confirmasses redditurum, postea quam Curidius pro testimonio dixit te sibi reddidisse, finem reddendi fecisti, quod intellexisti præda te de manibus amissa testimonium tamen effugere non posse. Cn. Calidio, equiti Romano, per omnes alios prætores licuit habere argentum bene factum, licuit posse domesticis copiis, cum magistratum aut aliquem superiorem invitasset, ornare et apparare convivium. Multi domi Cn. Calidii cum potestate atque imperio fuerunt: nemo inventus est tam amens qui illud argentum tam præclarum ac tam nobile eriperet, nemo tam audax qui posceret, nemo tam impudens qui postularet ut venderet. Superbum est enim, iudices, et non ferendum 45 dicere prætorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido: 'vende mihi vasa cæolata.' Hoc est enim dicere: 'non es dignus tu qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt: meæ dignitatis ista sunt.' Tu dignior, Verres, quam Calidius? qui, ut non conferam vitam neque existimationem tuam cum illius—neque enim est conferenda—: hoc ipsum conferam, quo tu te superiorem fingis: quod sestertium† CCC milia divisoribus, ut prætor renuntiarere, dedisti, CCC accusatori, ne tibi odiosus esset, ea re contemnis equestrem ordinem et despicias? ea re tibi indignum visum est quicquam, quod tibi placeret, Calidium potius habere quam te?

XXI. Jactat se jam dudum de Calidio; narrat 46 omnibus emisse se. Num etiam de L. Papinio, viro primario, locupleti honestoque equite Romano, turibulum emisti? qui pro testimonio dixit te, cum inspicendum poposcisses, evulso emblemate remisisse: ut intelligatis in homine intelligentiam esse, non avaritiam, artificii cupidum, non argenti fuisse. Nec solum in Papinio fuit hac abstinencia: tenuit hoc institutum in turibulis omnibus, quæcumque in Sicilia fuerunt. Incredibile est autem, quam multa et quam præclara fuerint. Credo tum, cum Sicilia florebat opibus et copiis, magna artificia fuisse in ea insula. Nam domus erat ante istum prætorem nulla paullo locupletior, qua

- in domo hæc non essent, etiam si præterea nihil esset argenti, patella grandis cum sigillis ac simulacris deorum, patera, qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur, turibulum. Erant autem hæc omnia antiquo opere et summo artificio facta, ut hoc liceret suspicari, fuisse aliquando apud Siculos peræque pro portione cetera, sed quibus multa fortuna ademisset, tamen apud eos
- 47 remansisse ea, quæ religio retinuisset. Dixi, iudices, multa fuisse fere apud omnes Siculos: ego idem confirmo nunc ne unum quidem esse. Quid hoc est? quod hoc monstrum, quod prodigium in provinciam misimus? Nonne vobis id egisse videtur, ut non unius libidinem, non suos oculos, sed omnium cupidissimorum insanias, cum Romam revertisset, expleret? Qui simul atque in oppidum quodpiam venerat, immittebantur illi continuo Cibyratii canes, qui investigabant et perscrutabantur omnia. Si quod erat grande vas et majus opus inventum, læti adferebant: si minus ejus modi quippiam venari potuerant, illa quidem certe pro lepusculis capiebantur, patellæ, pateræ, turibula. Hic quos putatis fletus mulierum, quas lamentationes fieri solitas esse in hisce rebus? quæ forsitan vobis parvæ esse videantur, sed magnum et acerbum dolorem commovent, mulierculis præsertim, cum eripiuntur e manibus ea, quibus ad res divinas uti consuerunt, quæ a suis acceperunt, quæ in familia semper fuerunt.
- 48 XXII. Hic nolite exspectare, dum ego hæc crimina agam ostiatim, ab Æschylo Tyndaritano istum pateram abstulisse, a Thrasone item Tyndaritano patellam, a Nymphodoro Agrigentino turibulum. Cum testes ex Sicilia dabo, quem volet ille eligat, quem ego interrogem de patellis, pateris, turibulis: non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paullo locupletior expertus hujus injuriæ reperietur. Qui cum in convivium venisset, si quicquam cælati adspexerat, manus abstinere, iudices, non poterat. Cn. Pompeius est Philo, qui fuit Tyndaritanus. Is cœnam isti dabat apud villam in Tyndaritano: fecit, quod Siculi non audebant; ille, civis Romanus quod erat, impunius id se facturum putavit: adposuit patellam, in qua sigilla erant egregia. Iste continuo ut vidit, non dubitavit illud insigne penatium hospitaliumque deorum ex hospitali mensa

tollere, sed tamen, quod ante de istius abstinencia dixeram, sigillis avulsis reliquum argentum sine ulla avaritia reddidit. Quid? Eupolemo Calactino, homini 49 nobili, Lucullorum hospiti ac perfamiliari, qui nunc apud exercitum cum L. Lucullo est, non idem fecit? Cœnabat apud eum: argentum ille ceterum purum adposuerat, ne purus ipse relinqueretur, duo pocula non magna, verum tamen cum emblemate. Hic, tamquam festivum acroama, ne sine corollario de convivio discederet, ibidem convivis spectantibus emblemata evelenda curavit.

Neque ego nunc istius facta omnia enumerare conor, neque opus est, nec fieri ullo modo potest: tantum unius cujusque de varia improbitate generis indicia apud vos et exempla profero. Neque enim ita se gessit in his rebus, tamquam rationem aliquando esset redditurus, sed prorsus ita, quasi aut reus numquam esset futurus, aut, quo plura abstulisset, eo minore periculo in iudicium venturus esset, qui hæc quæ dico jam non occulte, non per amicos atque interpretes, sed palam de loco superiore ageret, pro imperio et potestate.

XXIII. Catinam cum venisset, oppidum locuples, 50 honestum, copiosum, Dionysiarchum ad se proagorum, hoc est summum magistratum, vocari jubet: ei palam imperat ut omne argentum, quod apud quemque esset Catinæ, conquirendum curaret et ad se adferendum. Phylarchum Centuripinum, primum hominem genere, virtute, pecunia, non hoc idem juratum dicere audistis, sibi istum negotium dedisse atque imperasse ut Centuripinis, in civitate totius Siciliæ multo maxima et locupletissima, omne argentum conquireret et ad se comportari juberet? Agyrio similiter istius imperio vasa Corinthia per Apollodorum, quem testem audistis, Syracusas deportata sunt. Illa vero optima, quod, cum 51 Haluntium venisset prætor laboriosus et diligens, ipse in oppidum noluit accedere, quod erat difficili adscensu atque arduo: Archagathum Haluntinum, hominem non solum domi, sed tota Sicilia in primis nobilem, vocari jussit. Ei negotium dedit, ut quidquid Haluntii esset argenti cælati aut si quid etiam Corinthiorum, ut omne statim ad mare ex oppido deportaretur. Escendit in oppidum Archagathus. Homo nobilis, qui a suis amari

et diligi vellet, ferebat graviter, illam sibi ab isto provinciam datam, nec quid faceret habebat: pronuntiat quid sibi imperatum esset; jubet omnes proferre quod haberent. Metus erat summus; ipse enim tyrannus non discedebat longius, Archagathum et argentum in lectica cubans ad mare infra oppidum expectabat.

52 Quem concursum in oppido factum putatis? quem clamorem? quem porro fletum mulierum? qui videret, equum Trojanum introductum, urbem captam diceret. Efferrī sine thecis vasa, extorqueri alia e manibus mulierum, effringi multorum fores, revelli claustra. Quid enim putatis? Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt, ne quem putetis sine maximo dolore argentum cælatum domo, quod alter eriperet, protulisse. Omnia deferuntur. Cibyratæ fratres vocantur: pauca improbant; quæ probarant, iis crustæ aut emblemata detrahebantur. Sic Haluntini excussis deliciis cum argento puro domum revertuntur.

53 XXIV. Quod umquam, iudices, hujusce modi everriculum ulla in provincia fuit? Avertere aliquid de publico quam obscurissime per magistratum solebant; etiam cum aliquid a privato non numquam, occulte auferebant, et ii tamen condemnabantur. Et si quæritis, ut ipse de me detraham, illos ego accusatores puto fuisse, qui ejus modi hominum furta odore aut aliquo leviter presso vestigio persequabantur. Nam nos quidem quid facimus in Verre, quem in luto volutatum totius corporis vestigiis invenimus? Permagnum est in eum dicere aliquid, qui præteriens, lectica paulisper deposita, non per præstigias, sed palam per potestatem uno imperio ostiatim totum oppidum compilaverit. Ac tamen, ut posset dicere se emissee, Archagatho imperat ut illis aliquid, quorum argentum fuerat, nummulum dicis causa daret. Invenit Archagathus paucos, qui vellent accipere; iis dedit. Eos nummos tamen iste Archagathus non reddidit. Voluit Romæ repetere Archagathus; Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus dissuasit, sicut ipsum dicere audistis. Recita Archagathi et Lentuli testimonium.

54 Et ne forte hominem existimetis hanc tantam vim emblematum sine causa coacervare voluisse, videte

quanti vos, quanti existimationem populi Romani, quanti leges et judicia, quanti testes Siculos negotiatoresque fecerit. Postea quam tantam multitudinem collegerat emblematum, ut ne unum quidem cuiquam reliquisset, instituit officinam Syracusis in regia maximam. Palam artifices omnes, cælatores ac vasculares, convocari jubet: et ipse suos complures habebat. Eos concludit, magnam hominum multitudinem. Menses octo continuos his opus non defuit, cum vas nullum fieret nisi aureum. Tum illa, ex patellis et turibulis quæ evellerat, ita scite in aureis poculis illigabat, ita apte in scaphiis aureis includebat, ut ea ad illam rem nata esse diceret: ipse tamen prætor, qui sua vigilantia pacem in Sicilia dicit fuisse, in hac officina majorem partem diei cum tunica pulla sedere solebat et pallio.

XXV. Hæc ego, judices, non auderem proferre, ni 55
vererer, ne forte plura de isto ab aliis in sermone quam a me in iudicio vos audisse diceretis. Quis enim est, qui de hac officina, qui de vasis aureis, qui de istius pallio non audierit? Quem voles e conventu Syracusano virum bonum nominato; producam: nemo erit quin hoc se audisse aut vidisse dicat. O tempora, o mores! 56
Nihil nimium vetus proferam. Sunt vestrum aliquam multi, qui L. Pisonem norint, hujus L. Pisonis, qui prætor fuit, patrem. Ei, cum esset in Hispania prætor, qua in provincia occisus est, nescio quo pacto, dum armis exercetur, anulus aureus, quem habebat, fractus et comminutus est. Cum vellet sibi anulum facere, aurificem jussit vocari in forum ad sellam Cordubæ et palam adpendit aurum: hominem in foro jubet sellam ponere et facere anulum omnibus præsentibus. Nimium fortasse dicet aliquis hunc diligentem: hactenus reprehendet si qui volet, nihil amplius. Verum fuit ei concedendum; filius enim L. Pisonis erat, ejus qui primus de pecuniis repetundis legem tulit. Ridi- 57
culum est me nunc de Verre dicere, cum de Pisone Frugi dixerim: verum tamen quantum intersit videte. Iste cum aliquot abacorum faceret vasa aurea, non laboravit, quid non modo in Sicilia, verum etiam Romæ in iudicio audiret: ille in auri semuncia totam Hispaniam scire voluit, unde prætori anulus fieret. Ni-

mirum ut hic nomen suum comprobavit, sic ille cognomen.

- XXVI. Nullo modo possum omnia istius facta aut memoria consequi aut oratione complecti: genera ipsa cupio breviter attingere, ut hic modo me commonuit Pisonis anulus, quod totum effluxerat. Quam multis istum putatis hominibus honestis de digitis anulos abstulisse? numquam dubitavit, quotienscumque aliqujus aut gemma aut anulo delectatus est. Incredibile dicam, sed ita clarum, ut ipsum negaturum non arbitrer.
- 58 Cum Valentio ejus interpreti epistola Agrigento adlata esset, casu signum iste animadvertit in cretula. Placuit ei. Quæsivit, unde esset epistola: respondit Agrigento. Iste litteras ad quos solebat misit, ut is anulus ad se primo quoque tempore adferretur. Ita litteris istius patri familias, L. Titio, civi Romano, anulus de digito detractus est. Illa vero ejus cupiditas incredibilis est. Nam ut in singula conclavia, quæ iste non modo Romæ, sed in omnibus villis habet, tricenos lectos optime stratos cum ceteris ornamentis convivii quæreret, nimium multa comparare videretur. Nulla domus in Sicilia locuples fuit, ubi iste non textrinum instituerit.
- 59 Mulier est Segestana, perdives et nobilis, Lamia nomine: per triennium isti, plena domo telarum, stragulam vestem confecit, nihil nisi conchylio tinctum. Attalus, homo pecuniosus, Neti, Lyso Lilybæi, Critolaus Ætnæ, Syracusis Æschrio Cleomenes Theomnastus, Helori Archonidas: dies me citius defecerit quam nomina. 'Ipse dabat purpuram, tantum operam amici.' Credo; jam enim non libet omnia criminari; quasi hoc mihi non satis sit ad crimen, habuisse tam multum quod daret, voluisse deportare tam multa, hoc denique, quod concedit, amicorum operis esse in hujusce
- 60 modi rebus usum. Jam vero lectos æratos et candelabra ænea num cui præter istum Syracusis per triennium facta esse existimatis? 'Emebat.' Credo, sed tantum vos certiores, judices, facio, quid iste in provincia prætor egerit, ne cui forte negligens nimium fuisse videatur neque se satis, cum potestatem habuerit, intruxisse et ornassee.

XXVII. Venio nunc non jam ad furtum, non ad avaritiam, non ad cupiditatem, sed ad ejus modi facinus,

in quo omnia nefaria contineri mihi atque inesse videantur; in quo di immortales violati, existimatio atque auctoritas nominis populi Romani imminuta, hospitium spoliatum ac proditum, abalienati scelere istius a nobis omnes reges amicissimi nationesque, quæ in eorum regno ac ditione sunt. Nam reges Syriæ, regis 61 Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum—nam id sine controversia obtinebant, ut a patre et a majoribus acceperant,—sed regnum Ægypti ad se et ad Selenen, matrem suam, pertinere arbitrabantur. Ii postea quam temporibus rei publicæ exclusi per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrum profecti sunt. Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit; itaque isto prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse 62 arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat multa secum præclara habere et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis large, hæc ad usum domesticum: olei, vini quod visum est, etiam tritici quod satis esset, de suis decumis. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam vocavit. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium: exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima et pulcherrima vasa argentea—nam hæc aurea nondum fecerat,—omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiose ornatum et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur. Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem: exponit suas copias omnes, multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regius et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium, ex una gemma pergrandi trulla excavata manubrio aureo, de qua, credo, satis idoneum, satis gravem testem, Q. Minucium, dicere audistis. Iste unum quodque vas in 63 manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere, prætori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium. Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare nihil iste aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quem ad modum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud eum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle osten-

dere. Rex, qui illum non nosset, sine ulla suspitione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum; velle se eam diligentius considerare: ea quoque ei mittitur.

- 64 XXVIII. Nunc reliquum, iudices, attendite, de quo et vos audistis et populus Romanus non nunc primum audiet et in exteris nationibus usque ad ultimas terras pervagatum est. Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis, opere mirabili perfectum, reges ii quos dico Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent, quod nondum perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere potuerunt neque vulgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt, ut et magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in cella Jovis Optimi Maximi poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Optimi Maximi dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum ceteris rebus illud quoque eximium ac pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium adferrent. Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quo modo: nam rex id celatum voluerat, non quo quicquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante præciperent oculis quam populus Romanus. Iste petit a rege et eum pluribus verbis rogat, ut id ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere neque se
- 65 aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est: imperat suis ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo postea quam attulerunt involucrisque rejectis constituerunt, clamare iste cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et pulcherrimis gemmis esse debebat; ea varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornatum esse factum. Cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt, ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare; nequaquam se esse satiatum: jubet illos discedere et candelabrum relinquare. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

XXIX. Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari: 66 dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit, si videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri: mittit iterum. Non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat, rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quod ex ipso rege audisset in Capitolio esse ponendum, quod Jovi Optimo Maximo, quod populo Romano servari videret, id sibi ut donaret rogare et vehementissime petere cœpit. Cum ille se et religione Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris, iste homini minari acerrime cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus removeri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem decedere: ait se comperisse, ex ejus regno piratas ad Siciliam esse venturos. Rex maximo conventu Syracusis in foro, ne quis forte 67 me in crimine obscuro versari atque adfingere aliquid suspicione hominum arbitretur, in foro, inquam, Syracusis flens ac deos hominesque contestans clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo populo Romano monumentum suæ societatis amicitiaque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse: de ceteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quæ sua penes illum essent, se non laborare; hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam mente et cogitatione sua fratrisque sui consecratum esset, tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare donare, dicare consecrare Jovi Optimo Maximo, testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

XXX. Quæ vox, quæ latera, quæ vires hujus unius criminis querimoniam possunt sustinere? Rex Antiochus, qui Romæ ante oculos omnium nostrum biennium fere comitatu regio atque ornatu fuisset, is cum amicus et socius populi Romani esset, amicissimo patre avo majoribus, antiquissimis et clarissimis regibus, opulentissimo et maximo regno, præceps provincia populi Romani exturbatus est. Quem ad modum hoc accepturas nationes externas, quem ad modum hujus tui facti 68 famam in regna aliorum atque in ultimas terras perventuram putasti, cum audirent a prætore populi

Romani in provincia violatum regem, spoliatum hospitum, ejectum socium populi Romani atque amicorum? Nomen vestrum populique Romani odio atque acerbitati scitote nationibus exteris, iudices, futurum, si istius hæc tanta injuria impunita discesserit. Sic omnes arbitrabuntur, præsertim cum hæc fama de nostrorum hominum avaritia et cupiditate percrebuerit, non istius solius hoc esse facinus, sed eorum etiam qui adprobarint. Multi reges, multæ liberæ civitates, multi privati opulenti ac potentes habent profecto in animo Capitolium sic ornare, ut templi dignitas imperique nostri nomen desiderat: qui si intellexerint interverso hoc regali dono graviter vos tulisse, grata fore vobis populoque Romano sua studia ac dona arbitrabuntur. Sin hoc vos in rege tam nobili, re tam eximia, injuria tam acerba neglexisse audient, non erunt tam amentes, ut operam, curam, pecuniam impendant in eas res, quas vobis gratas fore non arbitrentur.

69 XXXI. Hoc loco, Q. Catule, te appello. Loquor enim de tuo clarissimo pulcherrimoque monumento: non iudicis solum severitatem in hoc crimine, sed prope inimici atque accusatoris vim suscipere debes. Tuus enim honos illo templo senatus populique Romani beneficio, tui nominis æterna memoria simul cum templo illo consecratur: tibi hæc cura suscipienda, tibi hæc opera sumenda est, ut Capitolium, quem ad modum magnificentius est restitutum, sic copiosius ornatum sit, quam fuit; ut illa flamma divinitus exstitisse videatur, non quæ deleret Jovis Optimi Maximi templum, sed quæ præclarius magnificentiusque deposceret.

70 Audisti Q. Minucium dicere, domi suæ deversatum esse Antiochum regem Syracusis; se illud scire ad istum esse delatum, se scire non redditum: audisti et audies homines e conventu Syracusano qui ita dicant, sese audientibus illud Jovi Optimo Maximo dicatum esse ab rege Antiocho et consecratum. Si iudex non esses et hæc ad te delata res esset, te potissimum hoc persequi, te petere, te agere oporteret. Quare non dubito, quo animo iudex hujus criminis esse debeas, qui apud alium iudicem multo acrior, quam ego sum, actor accusatorque esse deberes.

71 XXXII. Vobis autem, iudices, quid hoc indignius

aut quid minus ferendum videri potest? Verresne habebit domi suæ candelabrum Jovis, e gemmis auroque perfectum? cujus fulgore collucere atque illustrari Jovis Optimi Maximi templum oportebat, id apud istum in ejus modi convivii constituetur, quæ domesticis stupris flagitiisque flagrabunt? In istius lenonis turpissimi domo simul cum ceteris Chelidonis hereditariis ornamentis Capitolii ornamenta ponentur? Quid huic sacri umquam fore aut quid religiosi fuisse putatis, qui nunc tanto scelere se obstrictum esse non sentiat? qui in judicium veniat, ubi ne precari quidem Jovem Optimum Maximum atque ab eo auxilium petere more omnium possit? a quo etiam di immortales sua repetunt in eo judicio, quod hominibus ad suas res repetendas est constitutum. Miramur Athenis Minervam, Deli Apollinem, Junonem Sami, Pergæ Dianam, multos præterea ab isto deos tota Asia Græciaque violatos, qui a Capitolio manus abstinere non potuerit? Quod privati homines de suis pecuniis ornant ornaturique sunt, id C. Verres ab regibus ornari non passus est. Itaque 72 hoc nefario scelere concepto nihil postea tota in Sicilia neque sacri neque religiosi duxit esse; ita sese in ea provincia per triennium gessit, ut ab isto non solum hominibus, verum etiam dis immortalibus bellum indictum putaretur.

XXXIII. Segesta est oppidum per vetus in Sicilia, judices, quod ab Ænea fugiente a Troja atque in hæc loca veniente conditum esse demonstrant. Itaque Segestani non solum perpetua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam cognatione se cum populo Romano conjunctos esse arbitrantur. Hoc quondam oppidum, cum illa civitas cum Pœnis suo nomine ac sua sponte bellaret, a Carthaginiensibus vi captum atque deletum est, omniaque, quæ ornamento urbi esse possent, Carthaginem sunt ex illo loco deportata. Fuit apud Segestanos ex ære Dianæ simulacrum, cum summa atque antiquissima præditum religione, tum singulari opere artificioque perfectum. Hoc translatum Carthaginem locum tantum hominesque mutarat, religionem quidem pristinam conservabat; nam propter eximiam pulchritudinem etiam hostibus digna quam sanctissime colerent videbatur. Aliquot sæculis post P. Scipio bello Punico 73

tertio Carthaginem cepit: qua in victoria—videte hominis virtutem et diligentiam, ut et domesticis præclarissimæ virtutis exemplis gaudeatis et eo majore odio dignam istius incredibilem audaciam judicetis—convocatis Siculis omnibus, quod diutissime sæpissimeque Siciliam vexatam a Carthaginiensibus esse cognorat, jubet omnia conquiri: pollicetur sibi magnæ curæ fore ut omnia civitatibus, quæ cujusque fuissent, restituerentur. Tum illa, quæ quondam erant Himera sublata, de quibus antea dixi, Thermitanis sunt reddita; tum alia Gelensibus, alia Agrigentinis, in quibus etiam ille nobilis taurus, quem crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris habuisse dicitur, quo vivos supplicii causa demittere homines et subicere flammam solebat. Quem taurum cum Scipio redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur æquum esse illos cogitare, utrum esset Agrigentinis utilius, suisne servire anne populo Romano obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent.

- 74 XXXIV. Illo tempore Segestanis maxima cum cura hæc ipsa Diana, de qua dicimus, redditur: reportatur Segestam, in suis antiquis sedibus summa cum gratulatione civium et lætitia reponitur. Hæc erat posita Segestæ sane excelsa in basi, in qua grandibus litteris P. Africani nomen erat incisum eumque Carthagine capta restituisse perscriptum. Colebatur a civibus, ab omnibus advenis visebatur; cum quæstor essem, nihil mihi ab illis est demonstratum prius. Erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola, verum tamen inerat in illa magnitudine ætas atque habitus virginalis. Sagittæ pendebant ab humero; sinistra manu retinebat
- 75 arcum, dextra ardentem facem præferebat. Hanc cum iste sacrorum omnium et religionum hostis prædoque vidisset, quasi illa ipsa face percussus esset, ita flagrare cupiditate atque amentia cœpit. Imperat magistratibus ut eam demoliantur et sibi dent; nihil sibi gratius ostendit futurum. Illi vero dicere, sibi id nefas esse seseque cum summa religione, tum summo metu legum et iudiciorum teneri. Iste tum petere ab illis, tum minari; tum spem, tum metum ostendere. Opponebant illi nomen interdum P. Africani, populi Romani illud esse dicebant, nihil se in eo potestatis habere, quod

imperator clarissimus urbe hostium capta monumentum
victoriæ populi Romani esse voluisset. Cum iste nihilo 76
remissius atque etiam multo vehementius instaret
quotidie, res agitur in senatu. Vehementer ab omnibus
reclamatur, itaque illo tempore ac primo istius adventu
pernegatur. Postea, quidquid erat oneris in nautis
remigibusque exigendis, in frumento imperando, Seges-
tanis præter ceteros imponebat, aliquanto amplius quam
ferre possent. Præterea magistratus eorum evocabat,
optimum quemque et nobilissimum ad se arcessebat,
circum omnia provinciæ fora rapiebat, singillatim uni
cuique calamitati fore se denuntiabat, universis se fun-
ditus eversurum esse illam civitatem minabatur. Itaque
aliquando multis malis magnoque metu victi Segestani
prætoris imperio parendum esse decreverunt. Magno
cum luctu et gemitu totius civitatis, multis cum la-
crimis et lamentationibus virorum mulierumque omnium
simulacrum Dianæ tollendum locatur.

XXXV. Videte, quanta religio fuerit apud Seges- 77
tanos. Repertum esse, iudices, scitote neminem, neque
liberum neque servum, neque civem neque peregrinum,
qui illud signum auderet attingere: barbaros quosdam
Lilybæo scitote adductos esse operarios: ii denique
illud, ignari totius negotii ac religionis, mercede accepta
sustulerunt. Quod cum ex oppido exportabatur, quem
conventum mulierum factum esse arbitramini? quem
fletum majorum natu? quorum non nulli etiam illum
diem memoria tenebant, cum illa eadem Diana Seges-
tam Carthagine revecta victoriam populi Romani reditu
suo nuntiasset. Quam dissimilis hic dies illi tempori
videbatur! Tum imperator populi Romani, vir clari-
simus, deos patrios reportabat Segestanis ex urbe hos-
tium recuperatos: nunc ex urbe sociorum prætor ejus-
dem populi turpissimus atque impurissimus eosdem
illos deos nefario scelere auferebat. Quid hoc tota
Sicilia est clarius, quam omnes Segestæ matronas et
virgines convenisse, cum Diana exportaretur ex oppido,
unxisse unguentis, compllesse coronis et floribus, ture
odoribus incensis usque ad agri fines prosecutas esse?
Hanc tu tantam religionem si tum in imperio propter 78
cupiditatem atque audaciam non pertimescebas, ne nunc
quidem in tanto tuo liberorumque tuorum periculo

perhorrescis? Quem tibi aut hominem invitis dis immortalibus, aut vero deum tantis eorum religionibus violatis auxilio futurum putas? Tibi illa Diana in pace atque in otio religionem nullam attulit? quæ cum duas urbes, in quibus locata fuerat, captas incensasque vidisset, his ex duorum bellorum flamma ferroque servata est; quæ Carthaginiensium victoria loco mutata religionem tamen non amisit, P. Africani virtute religionem simul cum loco recuperavit. Quo quidem scelere suscepto cum inanis esset basis et in ea P. Africani nomen incisum, res indigna atque intoleranda videbatur omnibus, non solum religiones esse violatas, verum etiam P. Africani, viri fortissimi, rerum gestarum gloriam, memoriam virtutis, monumenta victoriæ C. Verrem sustulisse. Quod cum isti renuntiaretur de basi ac litteris, existimavit homines in oblivionem totius negotii esse venturos, si etiam basim tamquam indicem sui sceleris sustulisset. Itaque tollendam istius imperio locaverunt, quæ vobis locatio ex publicis litteris Segestanorum priore actione recitata est.

XXXVI. Te nunc, P. Scipio, te, inquam, lectissimum ornatissimumque adolescentem appello: abs te officium tuo debitum generi et nomini requiro et flagito. Cur pro isto, qui laudem honoremque familiæ vestræ depeculatus est, pugnas? cur eum defensum esse vis? cur ego tuas partes suscipio? cur tuum munus sustineo? cur M. Tullius P. Africani monumenta requirit, P. Scipio eum, qui illa sustulit, defendit? Cum mos a majoribus traditus sit, ut monumenta majorum ita suorum quisque defendat, ut ea ne ornari quidem nomine aliorum sinat: tu isti aderis, qui non obstruxit aliqua ex parte monumento P. Scipionis, sed id funditus delevit ac sustulit? Quisnam igitur, per deos immortales, tuebitur P. Scipionis memoriam mortui, quis monumenta atque indicia virtutis, si tu ea relinquis ac deseris, nec solum spoliata illa pateris, sed eorum etiam spoliatorem vexatoremque defendis? Adsunt Segestani, clientes tui, socii populi Romani atque amici, certiores te faciunt, P. Africanum Carthagine deleta simulacrum Dianæ majoribus suis restituisse idque apud Segestanos ejus imperatoris nomine positum ac dedicatum fuisse; hoc Verrem demoliendum et asportandum nomenque

omnino P. Scipionis delendum tollendumque curasse: orant te atque obsecrant ut sibi religionem, generi tuo laudem gloriamque restituas, ut, quod per P. Africanum ex urbe hostium recuperarint, id per te ex prædonis domo conservare possint.

XXXVII. Quid aut tu his respondere honeste potes, aut illi facere, nisi ut te ac fidem tuam implorent? adsunt et implorant. Potes domesticæ laudis amplitudinem, Scipio, tueri, potes: omnia sunt in te, quæ aut fortuna hominibus aut natura largitur: non præcerpo fructum officii tui, non alienam mihi laudem adpeto; non est pudoris mei, P. Scipione, florentissimo adolescente, vivo et incolumi me propugnatorem P. Scipionis defensoremque profiteri. Quam ob rem si 81 suscipis domesticæ laudis patrocinium, me non solum silere de vestris monumentis oportebit, sed etiam lætari, P. Africani ejus modi fortunam esse mortui, ut ejus honos ab iis, qui ex eadem familia sint, defendatur neque ullum adventicium auxilium requiratur. Sin istius amicitia te impedit, si hoc, quod ego abs te postulo, minus ad officium tuum pertinere arbitraberis, succedam ego vicarius tuo muneri, suscipiam partes, quas alienas esse arbitrabar. Deinde ista præclara nobilitas desinat queri, populum Romanum hominibus novis industriis libenter honores mandare semperque mandasse. Non est querendum, in hac civitate, quæ propter virtutem omnibus nationibus imperat, virtutem plurimum posse. Sit apud alios imago P. Africani, ornentur alii mortui virtute ac nomine: talis ille vir fuit, ita de populo Romano meritis est, ut non uni familiæ, sed universæ civitati commendatus esse debeat. Est aliqua mea pars virilis, quod ejus civitatis sum, quam ille amplam, illustrem claramque reddidit, præcipue quod in his rebus pro mea parte versor, quarum ille princeps fuit, æquitate, industria, temperantia, defensione miserorum, odio improborum: quæ cognatio studiorum et artium prope modum non minus est conjuncta quam ista, qua vos delectamini, generis et nominis.

XXXVIII. Repeto abs te, Verres, monumentum P. 82 Africani: causam Siculorum quam suscepi relinquo, judicium de pecuniis repetundis ne sit hoc tempore,

Segestanorum injuriæ negligantur: basis P. Scipionis restituatur, nomen invicti imperatoris incidatur, signum pulcherrimum Carthagine captum reponatur. Hæc abs te non Siculorum defensor, non tuus accusator, non Segestani postulant, sed is, qui laudem gloriamque P. Africani tuendam conservandamque suscepit. Non vereor ne hoc officium meum P. Servilio judici non probem, qui cum res maximas gesserit monumentaque suarum rerum gestarum cum maxime constituat atque in iis elaboret, profecto volet hæc non solum suis posteris, verum etiam omnibus viris fortibus et bonis civibus defendenda, non spolianda improbis tradere. Non vereor ne tibi, Q. Catule, displiceat, cujus amplissimum orbi terrarum clarissimumque monumentum est, quam plurimos esse custodes monumentorum et putare omnes bonos alienæ gloriæ defensionem ad officium suum pertinere.

83 Equidem ceteris istius furtis atque flagitiis ita moveor, ut ea reprehendenda tantum putem: hic vero tanto dolore adficior, ut nihil mihi indignius, nihil minus ferendum esse videatur. Verres Africani monumentis domum suam, plenam stupri, plenam flagitii, plenam dedecoris, ornat? Verres temperantissimi sanctissimique viri monumentum, Dianæ simulacrum virginis, in ea domo collocabit, in qua semper meretricum lenonumque flagitia versantur?

84 XXXIX. At hoc solum Africani monumentum violasti. Quid? a Tyndaritanis non ejusdem Scipionis beneficio positum simulacrum Mercurii pulcherrime factum sustulisti? At quem ad modum, di immortales! quam audacter! quam libidinose! quam impudenter! Audistis nuper dicere legatos Tyndaritanos, homines honestissimos ac principes civitatis, Mercurium, qui sacris anniversariis apud eos ac summa religione coleretur, quem P. Africanus Carthagine capta Tyndaritanis non solum suæ victoriæ, sed etiam illorum fidei societatisque monumentum atque indicium dedisset, hujus vi, scelere imperioque esse sublatum. Qui ut primum in illud oppidum venit, statim, tamquam ita fieri non solum oporteret, sed etiam necesse esset, tamquam hoc senatus mandasset, populus Romanus jussisset, ita continuo signum ut demolirentur et Messanam 85 deportarent imperavit. Quod cum illis qui aderant

indignum, qui audiebant incredibile videretur, non est ab isto primo illo adventu perseveratum. Discedens mandat proagoro Sopatro, cujus verba audistis, ut demoliat: cum recusaret, vehementer minatur et statim ex illo oppido proficiscitur. Refert rem ille ad senatum: vehementer undique reclamatur. Ne multa: iterum iste ad illos aliquanto post venit, quærit continuo de signo. Respondetur ei senatum non permittere, pœnam capitis constitutam, si injussu senatus quisquam attigisset; simul religio commemoratur. Tum iste: 'quam mihi religionem narras: quam pœnam? quem senatum? vivum te non relinquam; moriere virgis, nisi mihi signum traditur.' Sopater iterum flens ad senatum rem defert, istius cupiditatem minasque demonstrat. Senatus Sopatro responsum nullum dat, sed commotus perturbatusque discedit. Ille prætoris arcessitus nuntio rem demonstrat, negat ullo modo fieri posse.

XL. Atque hæc—nihil enim prætermittendum de 86 istius impudentia videtur—agebantur in conventu, palam, de sella ac de loco superiore. Erat hiems summa, tempestas, ut ipsum Sopatrum dicere audistis, perfrigida, imber maximus, cum iste imperat lictoribus ut Sopatrum de porticu, in qua ipse sedebat, præcipientem in forum dejiciant nudumque constituent. Vix erat hoc plane imperatum, cum illum spoliatum stipatumque lictoribus videres. Omnes id fore putabant ut miser atque innocens virgis cæderetur: fefellit hic homines opinio. Virgis iste cæderet sine causa socium populi Romani atque amicum? Non usque eo est improbus, non omnia sunt in uno vitia, numquam fuit crudelis: leniter hominem clementerque accepit. Equestres sunt medio in foro Marcellorum statuæ, sicut fere ceteris in oppidis Siciliæ: ex quibus iste C. Marcelli statuam delegit, cujus officia in illam civitatem totamque provinciam recentissima erant et maxima. In ea Sopatrum, hominem cum domi nobilem, tum summo magistratu præditum, divaricari ac deligari jubet. Quo cruciatu sit adfectus, venire in mentem 87 necesse est omnibus, cum esset vinctus nudus in aëre, in imbri, in frigore. Neque tamen finis huic injuriæ crudelitatisque fiebat, donec populus atque universa

multitudo atrocitate rei misericordiaeque commota senatum clamore coëgit ut isti simulacrum illud Mercurii polliceretur. Clamabant fore ut ipsi sese di immortales ulciscerentur: hominem interea perire innocentem non oportere. Tum frequens senatus ad istum venit, pollicetur signum. Ita Sopater de statua C. Marcelli, cum jam pæne obriguisset, vix vivus aufertur.

- 88 XLI. Non possum disposite istum accusare, si cupiam: opus est non solum ingenio, verum etiam artificio quodam singulari. Unum hoc crimen videtur esse, et a me pro uno ponitur, de Mercurio Tyndaritano: plura sunt, sed ea quo pacto distinguere ac separare possim nescio. Est pecuniarum captarum, quod signum ab sociis pecuniæ magnæ sustulit: est peculatus, quod publicum populi Romani signum, de præda hostium captum, positum imperatoris nostri nomine, non dubitavit auferre: est majestatis, quod imperii nostri, gloriæ, rerum gestarum monumenta evertere atque asportare ausus est: est sceleris, quod religiones maximas violavit: est crudelitatis, quod in innocentem hominem, in socium vestrum atque amicum
- 89 novum et singulare supplicii genus excogitavit. Illud vero quid sit jam non queo dicere, quo nomine appellem nescio, quod in C. Marcelli statua. Quid est hoc? patronusne quod erat? Quid tum? quo id spectat? utrum ea res ad opem an ad calamitatem clientium atque hospitum valere debebat? An ut hoc ostenderes, contra vim tuam in patronis præsidii nihil esse? Quis non hoc intelligeret, in improbi præsentis imperio majorem esse vim quam in bonorum absentium patrocinio? An vero ex hoc illa tua singularis significatur insolentia, superbia contumacia? Detrahare videlicet aliquid te de amplitudine Marcellorum putasti. Itaque nunc Siculorum Marcelli non sunt patroni: Verres in
- 90 eorum locum substitutus est. Quam in te tantam virtutem esse aut dignitatem arbitratus es, ut conarere clientelam tam splendidæ, tam illustris provinciæ traducere ad te, auferre a certissimis antiquissimisque patronis? Tu ista nequitia, stultitia, inertia non modo totius Siciliæ, sed unius tenuissimi Siculi clientelam tueri potes? tibi Marcelli statua pro patibulo in clientes Marcellorum fuit? tu ex illius honore in eos ipsos, qui

honorem illi habuerant, supplicia quærebas? Quid postea? quid tandem tuis statuis fore arbitrare? an vero id quod accidit? Nam Tyndaritani statuam istius, quam sibi propter Marcellos altiore etiam basi poni jusserat, deturbarunt, simul ac successum isti audierunt.

XLII. Dedit igitur tibi nunc fortuna Siculorum C. 91
Marcellum judicem, ut cujus ad statuam Siculi te prætorē adligabantur, ejus religione te ipsis devinctum adstrictumque dedamus. Ac primo, judices, hoc signum Mercurii dicebat iste Tyndaritanos M. Marcello huic Æternino vendidisse, atque hoc sua causa etiam M. Marcellum ipsum sperabat esse dicturum: quod mihi nunquam veri simile visum est, adolescentem illo loco natum, patronum Siciliæ, nomen suum isti ad translationem criminis commodaturum. Verum tamen ita mihi res tota provisa atque præcauta est, ut, si maxime esset inventus, qui in se suscipere istius culpam crimenque cuperet, tamen is proficere nihil posset: eos enim deduxi testes et eas litteras deportavi, ut de istius facto dubium esse nemini possit. Publicæ litteræ sunt, 92
deportatum Mercurium esse Messanam sumptu publico. Dicent quanti. Præfuisse huic negotio publice legatum Poleam. Quid? is ubi est? præsto est, testis est. Proagori Sopatri jussu. Quis est hic? qui ad statuam adstrictus est. Quid? is ubi est? vidistis hominem et verba ejus audistis. Demoliendum curavit Demetrius gymnasiarchus, quod is ei loco præerat. Quid? hoc nos dicimus? immo vero ipse præsens. Romæ nuper ipsum istum esse pollicitum sese id signum legatis redditurum, si ejus rei testificatio tolleretur cautumque esset eos testimonium non esse dicturos. Dixit hoc apud vos Zosippus et Ismenias, homines nobilissimi et principes Tyndaritanæ civitatis.

XLIII. Quid? Agrigento nonne ejusdem P. Sci- 93
pionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cujus in femore litteris minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum, ex Æsculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti? Quod quidem, judices, cum iste clam fecisset, cum ad suum scelus illud furtumque nefarium quosdam homines improbos duces atque adjutores adhibuisset, vehementer commota civitas est. Uno enim

tempore Agrigentini beneficium Africani, religionem domesticam, ornamentum urbis, indicium victoriæ, testimonium societatis requirebant. Itaque ab iis, qui principes in ea civitate erant, præcipitur et negotium datur quæstoribus et ædilibus, ut noctu vigiliæ agerent ad sedes sacras. Etenim iste Agrigenti—credo propter multitudinem illorum hominum atque virtutem, et quod cives Romani, viri fortes atque honesti, permulti in illo oppido conjunctissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentinis vivunt ac negotiantur—non audebat palam 94 poscere aut tollere quæ placebant. Herculis templum est apud Agrigentinos, non longe a foro, sane sanctum apud illos et religiosum. Ibi est ex ære simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius—tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intelligo quam multa vidi,—usque eo, iudices, ut rictum ejus ac mentum paullo sit attritius, quod in precibus et gratulationibus non solum id venerari, verum etiam osculari solent. Ad hoc templum, cum esset iste Agrigenti, duce Timarchide repente nocte intempesta servorum armatorum fit concursus atque impetus. Clamor a vigilibus fanique custodibus tollitur, qui primo cum obsistere ac defendere conarentur, male mulcati clavis ac fustibus repelluntur. Postea convulsis repagulis effractisque valvis demoliri signum ac vectibus labefactare conantur. Interea ex clamore fama tota urbe percrebruit expugnari deos patrios, non hostium adventu necopinato neque repentino prædonum impetu, sed ex domo atque ex cohorte prætoria manum 95 fugitivorum instructam armatamque venisse. Nemo Agrigenti neque ætate tam adfecta neque viribus tam infirmis fuit, qui non illa nocte eo nuntio excitatus surrexerit telumque, quod cuique fors offerebat, arripuerit. Itaque brevi tempore ad fanum ex urbe tota concurritur. Horam amplius jam in demoliendo signo permulti homines moliebantur: illud interea nulla lababat ex parte, cum alii vectibus subjectis conarentur commovere, alii deligatum omnibus membris rapere ad se. funibus. Ac repente Agrigentini concurrunt; fit magna lapidatio; dant sese in fugam istius præclari imperatoris nocturni milites: duo tamen sigilla perparvula tollunt, ne omnino inanes ad istum prædonem religionum rever-

tantur. Numquam tam male est Siculis, quin aliquid facete et commode dicant: velut in hac re siebant in labores Herculis non minus hunc immanissimum Verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere.

XLIV. Hanc virtutem Agrigentinorum imitati sunt 96

Assorini postea, viri fortes et fideles, sed nequaquam ex tam ampla neque tam ex nobili civitate. Chrysas est amnis, qui per Assorinorum agros fluit: is apud illos habetur deus et religione maxima colitur. Fanum ejus est in agro propter ipsam viam, qua Assoro itur Hennam: in eo Chrysæ simulacrum est præclare factum e marmore. Id iste poscere Assorinos propter singularem ejus fani religionem non ausus est: Tlepolemo dat et Hieroni negotium. Illi noctu facta manu armataque veniunt, fores ædis effringunt: æditui custodesque mature sentiunt; signum, quod erat notum vicinatis, bucina datur: homines ex agris concurrunt: ejicitur fugaturque Tlepolemus, neque quicquam ex fano Chrysæ præter unum perparvulum signum ex ære desideratum est.

Matris magnæ fanum apud Enguinos est—jam enim 97 mihi non modo breviter de uno quoque dicendum, sed etiam prætereunda videntur esse permulta, ut ad majora istius et illustriora in hoc genere furta et scelera veniamus:—in hoc fano loricas galeasque æneas, cælatas opere Corinthio, hydriasque grandes, simili in genere atque eadem arte perfectas, idem ille Scipio, vir omnibus rebus præcellentissimus, posuerat et suum nomen inscripserat. Quid jam de isto plura dicam aut querar? Omnia illa, judices, abstulit; nihil in religiosissimo fano præter vestigia violatæ religionis nomenque P. Scipionis reliquit: hostium spolia, monumenta imperatorum, decora atque ornamenta fanorum posthac his præclaris nominibus amissis in instrumento atque in supellectile Verris nominabuntur. Tu videlicet 98 solus vasis Corinthiis delectaris, tu illius æris temperationem, tu operum lineamenta sollertissime perspicis. Hæc Scipio ille non intelligebat, homo doctissimus atque humanissimus: tu sine ulla bona arte, sine humanitate, sine ingenio, sine litteris intelligis et judicas. Vide ne ille non solum temperantia, sed etiam

intelligentia te atque istos, qui se elegantes dici volunt, vicerit. Nam quia quam pulchra essent intelligebat, idcirco existimabat ea non ad hominum luxuriam, sed ad ornatum fanorum atque oppidorum esse facta, ut posteris nostris monumenta religiosa esse videantur.

- 99 XLV. Audite etiam singularem ejus, judices, cupiditatem, audaciam, amentiam in iis præsertim sacris polluentis, quæ non modo manibus attingi, sed ne cogitatione quidem violari fas fuit. Sacrarium Cereris est apud Catinenses, eadem religione qua Romæ, qua in ceteris locis, qua prope in toto orbe terrarum. In eo sacrario intimo signum fuit Cereris perantiquum, quod viri non modo cujus modi esset, sed ne esse quidem sciebant: aditus enim in id sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres ac virgines confici solent. Hoc signum noctu clam istius servi ex illo religiosissimo atque antiquissimo loco sustulerunt. Postridie sacerdotes Cereris atque illius fani antistitæ majores natu, probatæ ac nobiles mulieres, rem ad magistratus suos deferunt. Omnibus acerbum, indignum, luctuosum
- 100 denique videbatur. Tum iste permotus illa atrocitate negotii, ut ab se sceleris illius suspicio demoveretur, dat hospiti suo cuidam negotium ut aliquem reperiret, quem illud fecisse insimularet, daretque operam ut in eo crimine damnaretur, ne ipse esset in crimine. Res non procrastinatur. Nam cum iste Catina profectus esset, servi cujusdam nomen defertur: is accusatur, ficti testes in eum dantur. Rem cunctus senatus Catinensium legibus judicabat. Sacerdotes vocantur: ex iis quæritur secreto in curia, quid esse factum arbitrarentur, quem ad modum signum esset ablatum. Respondent illæ prætoris in eo loco servos esse visos. Res, quæ esset jam antea non obscura, sacerdotum testimonio perspicua esse cepit. Itur in consilium: servus ille innocens omnibus sententiis absolvitur, quo
- 101 facilis vos hunc omnibus sententiis condemnare possitis. Quid enim postulas, Verres? quid speras? quid exspectas? quem tibi aut deum aut hominem auxilio futurum putas? Eone tu servos ad spoliandum fanum immittere ausus es, quo liberos adire ne orandi quidem causa fas erat? iisne rebus manus adferre non dubitasti, a quibus etiam oculos cohibere te religionum jura

cogebant? Tametsi ne oculis quidem captus in hanc fraudem tam sceleratam ac tam nefariam decidisti: nam id concupisti, quod numquam videras, id, inquam, adamasti, quod antea non adspexeras. Auribus tu tantam cupiditatem concepisti, ut eam non metus, non religio, non deorum vis, non hominum existimatio contineret. At ex bono viro, credo, audieras et bono auc- 102
tore. Qui id potes, qui ne ex viro quidem audire potueris? Audisti igitur ex muliere, quoniam id viri nec vidisse neque nosse poterant. Qualem porro illam feminam fuisse putatis, iudices? quam pudicam, quæ cum Verre loqueretur? quam religiosam, quæ sacrarii spoliandi rationem ostenderet? An minime est mirum, quæ sacra per summam castimoniam virorum ac mulierum fiant, eadem per istius stuprum ac flagitium esse violata?

XLVI. Quid ergo? hoc solum auditione expetere cœpit, cum id ipse non vidisset? Immo vero alia complura: ex quibus eligam spoliationem nobilissimi atque antiquissimi fani, de qua priore actione testes dicere audistis. Nunc eadem illa, quæso, audite et diligenter, sicut adhuc fecistis, attendite. Insula est 103
Melita, iudices, satis lato a Sicilia mari periculosoque disjuncta: in qua est eodem nomine oppidum, quo iste numquam accessit, quod tamen isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam fuit. Ab eo oppido non longe in promontorio fanum est Junonis antiquum, quod tanta religione semper fuit, ut non modo illis Punicis bellis, quæ in his fere locis navali copia gesta atque versata sunt, sed etiam hac prædonum multitudine semper inviolatum sanctumque fuerit. Quin etiam hoc memoriæ proditum est, classe quondam Masinissæ regis ad eum locum adpulsæ præfectum regium dentes eburneos incredibili magnitudine e fano sustulisse et eos in Africam portasse Masinissæque donasse. Regem primo delectatum esse munere: post, ubi audisset unde essent, statim certos homines in quinqueremi misisse, qui eos dentes reponerent. Itaque in iis scriptum litteris Punicis fuit, 'regem Masinissam imprudentem accepisse, re cognita reportandos reponendosque curasse.' Erat præterea magna vis eboris, multa ornamenta, in quibus eburneæ Victoriæ, antiquo

- 104 opere ac summa arte perfectæ. Hæc iste omnia, ne multis morer, uno impetu atque uno nuntio per servos Venerios, quos ejus rei causa miserat, tollenda atque asportanda curavit.

XLVII. Pro di immortales! quem ego hominem accuso? quem legibus aut judicio sociali persequor? de quo vos sententiam per tabellam feretis? Dicunt legati Melitenses publice, spoliatum templum esse Junonis, nihil istum in religiosissimo fano reliquisse; quem in locum classes hostium sæpe accesserint, ubi piratæ fere quotannis hiemare soleant, quod neque prædo violarit antea neque umquam hostis attigerit, id ab uno isto sic spoliatum esse, ut nihil omnino sit relictum. Hic nunc iste reus aut ego accusator aut hoc judicium appellabitur? Criminibus enim coarguitur aut suspicionibus in judicium vocatur! Di ablati, fana vexata, nudatæ urbes reperiuntur: earum autem rerum nullam sibi iste neque infitiandi rationem neque defendendi facultatem reliquit: omnibus in rebus coarguitur a me, convincitur a testibus, urgetur confessione sua, manifestis in maleficiis tenetur, et manet etiam ac tacitus facta mecum sua recognoscit.

- 105 Nimum mihi diu videor in uno genere versari crimum: sentio, judices, occurrendum esse satietati aurium animorumque vestrorum, quam ob rem multa præternittam. Ad ea autem, quæ dicturus sum, reficite vos, quæso, judices, per deos immortales, eos ipsos, de quorum religione jam diu dicimus, dum id ejus facinus commemoro et profero, quo provincia tota commota est. De quo si paullo altius ordiri ac repetere memoriam religionis videbor, ignoscite: rei magnitudo me breviter perstringere atrocitatem criminis non sinit.

- 106 XLVIII. Vetus est hæc opinio, judices, quæ constat ex antiquissimis Græcorum litteris ac monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberæ consecratam. Hoc cum ceteræ gentes sic arbitrantur, tum ipsis Siculis ita persuasum est, ut in animis eorum insitum atque innatum esse videatur. Nam et natas esse has in iis locis deas et fruges in ea terra primum repertas esse arbitrantur et raptam esse Liberam, quam eandem Proserpinam vocant, ex Hennensium nemore, qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus

Siciliæ nominatur. Quam cum investigare et conquirere Ceres vellet, dicitur inflammasse tædas iis ignibus, qui ex Ætnæ vertice erumpunt; quas sibi cum ipsa præferret, orbem omnem peragrasse terrarum. Henna autem, ubi ea quæ dico gesta esse memorantur, 107 est loco perexcelso atque edito, quo in summo est æquata agri planities et aquæ perennes; tota vero ab omni aditu circumcisa atque directa est, quam circa lacus lucique sunt plurimi atque lætissimi flores omni tempore anni, locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis, quem jam a pueris accepimus, declarare videatur. Etenim prope est spelunca quædam, conversa ad aquilonem, infinita altitudine, qua Ditem patrem ferunt repente cum curru exstitisse abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse et subito non longe a Syracusis penetrasse sub terras, lacumque in eo loco repente exstitisse, ubi usque ad hoc tempus Syracusani festos dies anniversarios agunt celeberrimo virorum mulierumque conventu.

XLIX. Propter hujus opinionis vetustatem, quod horum in iis locis vestigia ac prope incunabula reperiuntur deorum, mira quædam tota Sicilia privatim ac publice religio est Cereris Hennensis. Etenim multa sæpe prodigia vim ejus numenque declararunt; multis sæpe in difficillimis rebus præsens auxilium ejus oblatum est, ut hæc insula ab ea non solum diligi, sed etiam incolæ custodiri videatur. Nec solum Siculi, verum 108 etiam ceteræ gentes nationesque Hennensem Cererem maxime colunt. Etenim si Atheniensium sacra summa cupiditate expetuntur, ad quos Ceres in illo errore venisse dicitur frugesque attulisse, quantam esse religionem convenit eorum, apud quos eam natam esse et fruges invenisse constat? Itaque apud patres nostros atroci ac difficili rei publicæ tempore, cum Ti. Graccho occiso magnorum periculorum metus ex ostentis portenderetur, P. Mucio, L. Calpurnio consulibus, aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos, ex quibus inventum est Cererem antiquissimam placari oportere. Tum ex amplissimo collegio decemvirali sacerdotes populi Romani, cum esset in urbe nostra Cereris pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum templum, tamen usque Hennam profecti sunt. Tanta erat enim auctoritas et vetustas illius

religionis, ut, cum illuc irent, non ad ædem Cereris,
 109 sed ad ipsam Cererem proficisci viderentur. Non ob-
 tandam diutius; etenim jam dudum vereor ne oratio
 mea aliena ab iudiciorum ratione et a quotidiana dicendi
 consuetudine esse videatur. Hoc dico, hanc ipsam
 Cererem, antiquissimam, religiosissimam, principem
 omnium sacrorum, quæ apud omnes gentes nationesque
 fiunt, a C. Verre ex suis templis ac sedibus esse sub-
 latam. Qui accessistis Hennam, vidistis simulacrum
 Cereris e marmore et in altero templo Liberæ. Sunt
 ea perampla atque præclara, sed non ita antiqua. Ex
 ære fuit quoddam modica amplitudine ac singulari
 opere, cum facibus, perantiquum omnium illorum, quæ
 sunt in eo fano, multo antiquissimum. Id sustulit, ac
 110 tamen eo contentus non fuit. Ante ædem Cereris in
 aperto ac propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum,
 alterum Triptolemi, pulcherrima ac perampla. Pul-
 chritudo periculo amplitudo salutis fuit, quod eorum
 demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. In-
 sistebat in manu Cereris dextra grande simulacrum
 pulcherrime factum Victoriæ: hoc iste e signo Cereris
 avellendum asportandumque curavit.

L. Qui tandem istius animus est nunc in recor-
 datione scelerum suorum, cum ego ipse in commemo-
 ratione eorum non solum animo commovear, verum
 etiam corpore perhorrescam? Venit enim mihi fani,
 loci, religionis illius in mentem; versantur ante oculos
 omnia: dies ille, quo, cum ego Hennam venissem, præsto
 mihi sacerdotes Cereris cum infulis ac verbenis fuerunt;
 contio conventusque civium, in quo ego cum loquerer,
 tanti gemitus fletusque fiebant, ut acerbissimus tota
 111 urbe luctus versari videretur. Non illi decumarum
 imperia, non bonorum direptiones, non iniqua iudicia,
 non importunas istius libidines, non vim, non con-
 tumelias, quibus vexati oppressique erant, conque-
 rebantur: Cereris numen, sacrorum vetustatem, fani
 religionem istius sceleratissimi atque audacissimi sup-
 plicio expiari volebant: omnia se cetera pati ac ne-
 gligere dicebant. Hic dolor erat tantus, ut Verres
 alter Orcus venisse Hennam et non Proserpinam
 asportasse, sed ipsam abripuisse Cererem videretur.
 Etenim urbs illa non urbs videtur, sed fanum Cereris

esse: habitare apud sese Cererem Hennenses arbitrantur, ut mihi non cives illius civitatis, sed omnes sacerdotes, omnes adcolæ atque antistites Cereris esse videantur. Henna tu simulacrum Cereris tollere audebas? Henna tu de manu Cereris Victoriam eripere et deam deæ detrahere conatus es? quorum nihil violare, nihil attingere ausi sunt, in quibus erant omnia, quæ sceleri propiora sunt quam religioni. Tenuerunt enim P. Popilio, P. Rupilio consulibus illum locum servi, fugitivi, barbari, hostes, sed neque tam servi illi dominorum quam tu libidinum, neque tam fugitivi illi ab dominis quam tu ab jure et ab legibus, neque tam barbari lingua et natione illi quam tu natura et moribus neque tam illi hostes hominibus quam tu dis immortalibus. Quæ deprecatio est igitur ei reliqua, qui indignitate servos, temeritate fugitivos, scelere barbaros, crudelitate hostes vicerit?

LI. Audistis Theodorum et Numenium et Nicasionem, legatos Hennenses, publice dicere sese a suis civibus hæc habere mandata, ut ad Verrem adirent et eum simulacrum Cereris et Victoriam reposcerent: id si impetrassent, tum ut morem veterem Hennensium conservarent; publice in eum, tametsi vexasset Siciliam, tamen, quoniam hæc a majoribus instituta accepissent, testimonium ne quod dicerent: sin autem ea non reddidisset, tum ut in judicio adessent, tum ut de ejus injuriis judices docerent, sed maxime de religione quererentur. Quas illorum querimonias nolite, per deos immortales, aspernari, nolite contemnere ac negligere, judices. Aguntur injuriæ sociorum, agitur vis legum, agitur existimatio veritasque judiciorum. Quæ sunt omnia permagna, verum illud maximum: tanta religione obstricta tota provincia est, tanta superstitio ex istius facto mentes omnium Siculorum occupavit, ut quæcumque accidant publice privatimque incommoda, propter eam causam sceleris istius evenire videantur. Audistis Centuripinos, Agyrinenses, Catinenses, Æt-nenses, Herbitenses compluresque alios publice dicere, quæ solitudo esset in agris, quæ vastitas, quæ fuga aratorum, quam deserta, quam inculta, quam relicta omnia. Ea tametsi multis istius et variis injuriis acciderunt, tamen hæc una causa in opinione Sicu-

lorum plurimum valet, quod Cerere violata omnes cultus fructusque Cœreris in iis locis interisse arbitrantur. Medemini religioni sociorum, iudices, conservate vestram; neque enim hæc externa vobis est religio neque aliena. Quod si esset, si suscipere eam nolletis, tamen in eo, qui violasset, sancire vos velle
 115 oporteret. Nunc vero in communi omnium gentium religione inque iis sacris, quæ majores nostri ab exteris nationibus adscita atque arcessita coluerunt, quæ sacra, ut erant re vera, sic appellari Græca voluerunt, negligentes ac dissoluti si cupiamus esse, qui possumus?

LII. Unius etiam urbis, omnium pulcherrimæ atque ornatissimæ, Syracusarum direptionem commemorabo et in medium proferam, iudices, ut aliquando totam hujus generis orationem concludam atque definiam. Nemo fere vestrum est quin, quem ad modum captæ sint a M. Marcello Syracusæ, sæpe audierit, non numquam etiam in annalibus legerit. Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, hujus prætoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, hujus cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, hujus libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo, qui cepit, conditas, ab hoc, qui constitutas accepit, captas dicetis Syracusas. Ac jam illa
 116 omitto, quæ disperse a me multis in locis dicentur ac dicta sunt, forum Syracusanorum, quod introitu Marcelli purum cæde servatum est, id adventu Verris Siculorum innocentium sanguine redundasse; portum Syracusanorum, qui tum et nostris classibus et Carthaginiensium clausus fuisset, eum isto prætore Cilicum myoparoni prædonibusque patuisse; mitto adhibitam vim ingenuis, matres familias violatas, quæ tum in urbe capta commissa non sunt, neque odio hostili neque licentia militari neque more belli neque jure victoriæ; mitto, inquam, hæc omnia, quæ ab isto per triennium perfecta sunt: ea quæ conjuncta cum illis rebus sunt,
 117 de quibus antea dixi, cognoscite. Urbem Syracusas maximam esse Græcarum, pulcherrimam omnium sæpe audistis. Est, iudices, ita ut dicitur. Nam et situ est cum munito, tum ex omni aditu vel terra vel mari præclaro ad adspectum, et portus habet prope in ædificatione amplexuque urbis inclusos; qui cum diversos inter se aditus habeant, in exitu conjunguntur et con-

fluunt. Eorum conjunctione pars oppidi, quæ appellatur Insula, mari disjuncta angusto, ponte rursus adiungitur et continetur.

LIII. Ea tanta est urbs, ut ex quattuor urbibus 118 maximis constare dicatur: quarum una est ea quam dixi Insula, quæ duobus portibus cincta in utriusque portus ostium aditumque projecta est; in qua domus est, quæ Hieronis regis fuit, qua prætores uti solent. In ea sunt sedes sacræ complures, sed duæ, quæ longe ceteris antecellant, Dianæ una, et altera, quæ fuit ante istius adventum ornatissima, Minervæ. In hac insula extrema est fons aquæ dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa est, incredibili magnitudine, plenissimus piscium; qui fluctu totus operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum disjunctus esset a mari. Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, 119 qui nomen Achradina est, in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimæ porticus, ornatissimum prytanium, amplissima est curia templumque egregium Jovis Olympii ceteræque urbis partes, quæ una via lata perpetua multisque transversis divisæ privatis ædificiis continentur. Tertia est urbs, quæ, quod in ea parte Fortunæ fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est, in qua gymnasium amplissimum est et complures sedes sacræ, coliturque ea pars et habitatur frequentissime. Quarta autem est quæ, quia postrema cœdificata est, Neapolis nominatur, quam ad summam theatrum maximum, præterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris unum, alterum Liberæ, signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites, vocatur, pulcherrimum et maximum, quod iste si portare potuisset, non dubitasset auferre.

LIV. Nunc ad Marcellum revertar, ne hæc a me 120 sine causa commemorata esse videantur. Qui cum tam præclaram urbem vi copiisque cepisset, non putavit ad laudem populi Romani hoc pertinere, hanc pulchritudinem, ex qua præsertim periculi nihil ostenderetur, delere et extinguere. Itaque ædificiis omnibus, publicis privatis, sacris profanis, sic pepercit, quasi ad ea defendenda cum exercitu, non oppugnanda venisset. In ornatu urbis habuit victoriæ rationem, habuit humanitatis. Victoriæ putabat esse multa Romam deportare, quæ ornamento urbi esse possent, humanitatis non plane exspoliare urbem, præsertim quam con-

- 121 servare voluisset. In hac partitione ornatus non plus victoria Marcelli populo Romano adpetivit quam humanitas Syracusanis reservavit. Romam quæ adportata sunt, ad ædem Honoris et Virtutis itemque aliis in locis videmus. Nihil in ædibus, nihil in hortis posuit, nihil in suburbano; putavit, si urbis ornamenta domum suam non contulisset, domum suam ornamento urbi futuram. Syracusis autem permulta atque egregia reliquit: deum vero nullum violavit, nullum attigit. Conferte Verrem, non ut hominem cum homine comparetis, ne qua tali viro mortuo fiat injuria, sed ut pacem cum bello, leges cum vi, forum et jurisdictionem cum ferro et armis, adventum et comitatum cum exercitu et victoria conferatis.
- 122 LV. Ædes Minervæ est in Insula, de qua ante dixi: quam Marcellus non attigit, quam plenam atque ornatam reliquit, quæ ab isto sic spoliata atque direpta est, non ut ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionem et consuetudinis jura retineret, sed ut a barbaris prædonibus vexata esse videatur. Pugna erat equestris Agathocli regis in tabulis picta, iis autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur. Nihil erat ea pictura nobilius, nihil Syracusis, quod magis visendum putaretur. Has tabulas M. Marcellus, cum omnia victoria illa sua profana fecisset, tamen religione impeditus non attigit: iste, cum illa jam propter diuturnam pacem fidelitatemque populi Syracusani sacra religiosaque accepisset, omnes eas tabulas abstulit: parietes, quorum ornatus tot sæcula manserant,
- 123 tot bella effugerant, nudos ac deformatos reliquit. Et Marcellus, qui si Syracusas cepisset, duo templa se Romæ dedicaturum voverat, is id, quod erat ædificaturus, iis rebus ornare, quas ceperat, noluit: Verres, qui non Honori neque Virtuti, quem ad modum ille, sed Veneri et Cupidini vota deberet, is Minervæ templum spoliare conatus est. Ille deos deorum spoliis ornare noluit: hic ornamenta Minervæ virginis in meretriciam domum transtulit. Viginti et septem præterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas ex eadem æde sustulit, in quibus erant imagines Siciliæ regum ac tyrannorum, quæ non solum pictorum artificio delectabant, sed etiam commemoratione hominum et cogni-

tione formarum. Ac videte, quanto tætrior hic tyrannus Syracusanis fuerit, quam quisquam superiorum umquam: illi tamen ornarunt templa deorum immortalium, hic etiam illorum monumenta atque ornamenta sustulit.

LVI. Jam vero quid ego de valvis illius templi 124 commemorem? Vereor ne, hæc qui non viderunt, omnia me nimis augere atque ornare arbitrentur; quod tamen nemo suspicari debet, tam esse me cupidum, ut tot viros primarios velim, præsertim ex judicum numero, qui Syracusis fuerint, qui hæc viderint, esse temeritati et mendacio meo conscios. Confirmare hoc liquido, judices, possum, valvas magnificentiores, ex auro atque ebore perfectiores, nullas umquam ullo in templo fuisse. Incredibile dictu est, quam multi Græci de harum valvarum pulchritudine scriptum reliquerint. Nimium forsitan hæc illi mirentur atque efferant: esto, verum tamen honestius est rei publicæ nostræ, judices, ea, quæ illis pulchra esse videantur, Imperatorem nostrum in bello reliquisse quam prætorem in pace abstulisse. Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta erant in valvis: ea detrahenda curavit omnia. Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, cinctum anguibus, revellit atque abstulit, et tamen indicavit se non solum artificio, sed etiam pretio quæstuque duci. Nam bullas aureas omnes ex iis valvis, quæ erant multæ et graves, non dubitavit auferre, quarum iste non opere delectabatur, sed pondere. Itaque ejus modi valvas reliquit, ut, quæ olim ad ornandum templum erant maxime, nunc tantum ad claudendum factæ esse videantur. Etiamne gramineas hastas—vidi enim vos in hoc 125 nomine, cum testis diceret, commoveri, quod erant ejus modi, ut semel vidisse satis esset; in quibus neque manu factum quicquam neque pulchritudo erat ulla, sed tantum magnitudo incredibilis, de qua vel audire satis esset, nimium videre plus quam semel:—etiam id concupisti?

LVII. Nam Sappho, quæ sublata de prytanio est, dat tibi justam excusationem, prope ut concedendum atque ignoscendum esse videatur. Silanionis opus tam 126 perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum quisquam non nodo privatus, sed populus potius haberet quam homo

- elegantissimus atque eruditissimus Verres? Nimirum contra dici nihil potest. Nostrum enim unus quisque, qui tam beati, quam iste est, non sumus, tam delicati esse non possumus, si quando aliquid istius modi videre volet, eat ad ædem Felicitatis, ad monumentum Catuli, in porticum Metelli, det operam ut admittatur in alicujus istorum Tusculanum, spectet forum ornatum, si quid iste suorum ædilibus commodarit: Verres hæc habeat domi, Verres ornamentorum fanorum atque oppidorum habeat plenam domum, villas refertas. Etiamne hujus operarii studia ac delicias, judices, perferetis? qui ita natus, ita educatus est, ita factus et animo et corpore, ut multo adpositior ad ferenda quam
- 127 ad auferenda signa esse videatur. Atque hæc Sappho sublata quantum desiderium sui reliquerit, dici vix potest. Nam cum ipsa fuit egregie facta, tam epigramma Græcum pernobile incisum est in basi, quod iste eruditus homo et Græculus, qui hæc subtiliter judicaret, qui solus intelligit, si unam litteram Græcam scisset, certe una sustulisset. Nunc enim quod scriptum est inani in basi declarat, quid fuerit, et id ablatum indicat.
- 128 Quid? signum Pæanis ex æde Æsculapii, præclare factum, sacrum ac religiosum, non sustulisti? quod omnes propter pulchritudinem visere, propter religionem colere solebant. Quid? ex æde Liberi simulacrum Aristæi non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? Quid? ex æde Jovis religiosissimum simulacrum Jovis Imperatoris, quem Græci Urion nominant, pulcherrime factum, nonne abstulisti? Quid? ex æde Liberæ parvum caput illud pulcherrimum, quod visere solebamus, num dubitasti tollere? Atque ille Pæan sacrificiis anniversariis simul cum Æsculapio apud illos colebatur: Aristæus, qui [ut Græci ferunt, Liberi filius] inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre apud
- 129 illos eodem erat in templo consecratus. LVIII. Jovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? Conjicere potestis, si recordari volueritis, quanta religione fuerit eadem specie ac forma signum illud, quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio posuerat Flamininus. Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Jovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime

facta: unum illud Macedonicum, quod in Capitolio vidimus, alterum in Ponti ore et angustiis, tertium, quod Syracusis ante Verrem prætorem fuit. Illud Flamininus ita ex sede sua sustulit, ut in Capitolio, hoc est in terrestri domicilio Jovis poneret. Quod 130 autem est ad introitum Ponti, id, cum tam multa ex illo mari bella emergerint, tam multa porro in Pontum invecta sint, usque ad hanc diem integrum inviolatumque servatum est. Hoc tertium, quod erat Syracusis, quod M. Marcellus armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolæ Syracusani colere, advenæ non solum visere, verum etiam venerari solebant, id C. Verres ex templo Jovis sustulit. Ut 131 sæpius ad Marcellum revertar, iudices, sic habetote, plures esse a Syracusanis istius adventu deos quam victoria Marcelli homines desideratos. Etenim ille requisisse etiam dicitur Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem ac disciplina, quem cum audisset interfectum, permoleste tulisse: iste omnia quæ requisivit, non ut conservaret, verum ut asportaret requisivit.

LIX. Jam illa, quæ leviora videbuntur, ideo præteribo, quod mensas Delphicas e marmore, crateras ex ære pulcherrimas, vim maximam vasorum Corinthiorum ex omnibus ædibus sacris abstulit Syracusis. Itaque, 132 iudices, ii, qui hospites ad ea quæ visenda sunt solent ducere et unum quidque ostendere, quos illi mystagogos vocant, conversam jam habent demonstrationem suam. Nam ut ante demonstrabant, quid ubique esset, item nunc, quid undique ablatum sit, ostendunt.

Quid tum? mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini? Non ita est, iudices; primum quod omnes religione moventur et deos patrios, quos a majoribus acceperunt, colendos sibi diligenter et retinendos esse arbitrantur: deinde hic ornatus, hæc opera atque artificia, signa, tabulæ pictæ Græcos homines nimio opere delectant. Itaque ex illorum querimoniis intelligere possumus, hæc illis acerbissima videri, quæ forsitan nobis levia et contemnenda esse videantur. Mihi credite, iudices,—tametsi vosmet ipsos hæc eadem audire certo scio,—cum multas acceperint per hosce annos socii atque exteræ nationes calamitates et in-

- jurias, nullas Græci homines gravius ferunt ac tulerunt quam hujusce modi spoliationes fanorum atque oppidorum. Licet iste dicat emisse se, sicuti solet dicere, credite hoc mihi, iudices: nulla umquam civitas tota Asia et Græcia signum ullum, tabulam ullam pictam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit. Nisi forte existimatis, postea quam judicia severa Romæ fieri desierunt, Græcos homines hæc venditare coepisse, quæ tum non modo non venditabant, cum judicia fiebant, verum etiam coëmebant, aut nisi arbitramini, L. Crasso, Q. Scævolæ, C. Claudio, potentissimis hominibus, quorum ædilitates ornatissimas vidimus, commercium istarum rerum cum Græcis hominibus non fuisse, iis, qui post judiciorum dissolutionem ædiles facti sunt, fuisse.
- 134 LX. Acerbiorem etiam scitote esse civitatibus falsam istam et simulatam emptionem, quam si qui clam surripiat aut eripiat palam atque auferat. Nam turpitudinem summam esse arbitrantur referri in tabulas publicas, pretio adductam civitatem et pretio parvo ea, quæ accepisset a majoribus, vendidisse atque abalienasse. Etenim mirandum in modum Græci rebus istis, quas nos contemnimus, delectantur. Itaque majores nostri facile patiebantur hæc esse apud illos quam plurima: apud socios, ut imperio nostro quam ornatissimi florentissimique essent, apud eos autem, quos vectigales aut stipendiarios fecerant, tamen hæc relinquebant, ut illi, quibus hæc jucunda sunt, quæ nobis levia videntur, haberent
- 135 hæc oblectamenta et solatia servitutis. Quid arbitramini Rheginos, qui jam cives Romani sunt, merere velle, ut ab iis marmorea Venus illa auferatur; quid Tarentinos, ut Europam in tauro amittant, ut Satyrum, qui apud illos in æde Vestæ est, ut cetera? quid Thespienses, ut Cupidinis signum, propter quod unum visuntur Thespiæ? quid Cnidios, ut Venerem marmoream? quid, ut pictam, Coos? quid Ephesios, ut Alexandrum? quid Cyzicenos, ut Ajacem aut Medeam? quid Rhodios, ut Ialysum? quid Athenienses, ut ex marmore Iacchum aut Paralum pictum aut ex ære Myronis buculam? Longum est et non necessarium commemorare, quæ apud quosque visenda sint tota Asia et Græcia: verum illud est, quam ob rem hæc commemorem, quod existimare

hoc vos volo, mirum quendam dolorem accipere eos, ex quorum urbibus hæc auferantur.

LXI. Atque, ut ceteros omittamus, de ipsis Syracu- 186
sanis cognoscite. Ad quos ego cum venissem, sic primum existimabam, ut Romæ ex istius amicis acceperam, civitatem Syracusanam propter Heraclii hereditatem non minus esse isti amicam quam Mamertinam propter prædarum ac furtorum omnium societatem; simul et verebar, ne mulierum nobilium et formosarum gratia, quarum iste arbitrio præturam per triennium gesserat, virorumque, quibuscum illæ nuptæ erant, nimia in istum non mode lenitudine, sed etiam liberalitate oppugnarer, si quid ex litteris Syracusanorum conquirerem. Itaque 187
Syracusis cum civibus Romanis eram: eorum tabulas exquirebam, injurias cognoscebam. Cum diutius in negotio curaue fueram, ut requiescerem curamque animi remitterem, ad Carpinatii præclaras tabulas revertebar, ubi cum equitibus Romanis, hominibus ex illo conventu honestissimis, illius Verrucios, de quibus ante dixi, explicabam: a Syracusanis prorsus nihil adjumenti neque publice neque privatim expectabam, neque erat in animo postulare. Cum hæc agerem, repente ad me venit Heraclius, is qui tum magistratum Syracusis habebat, homo nobilis et qui sacerdos Jovis fuisset, qui honos est apud Syracusanos amplissimus. Agit mecum et cum fratre meo, ut, si nobis videretur, adiremus ad eorum senatum: frequentes esse in curia: se jussu 188
senatus a nobis petere ut veniremus. Primo nobis fuit
dubium quid ageremus; deinde cito venit in mentem non esse vitandum illum nobis conventum et locum, itaque in curiam venimus. LXII. Honorifice sane consurgitur: nos rogatu magistratus adsedimus. Incipit is loqui, qui et auctoritate et ætate et, ut mihi visum est, usu rerum antecedeat, Diodorus Timarchidi, cujus omnis oratio hanc habuit primo sententiam: senatum et populum Syracusanum moleste graviterque ferre, quod ego, cum in ceteris Siciliae civitatibus senatum populumque docuissem, quid iis utilitatis, quid salutis afferrem, et cum ab omnibus mandata, legatos, litteras testimoniaque sumpsissem, in illa civitate nihil ejus modi facerem. Respondi neque Romæ in conventu Siculorum, cum a me auxilium communi omnium lega-

- tionum consilio petebatur, causaque totius provinciae ad me deferebatur; legatos Syracusanorum adfuisse, neque me postulare ut quicquam contra C. Verrem decerneretur in ea curia, in qua inauratam C. Verris statuam viderem.
- 139 Quod postea quam dixi, tantus est gemitus factus adpectu statuæ et commemoratione, ut illud in curia positum monumentum scelerum, non beneficiorum videretur. Tum pro se quisque, quantum dicendo assequi poterat, docere me cepit ea, quæ paullo ante commemoravi: spoliata urbem, fana direpta; de Heraclii hereditate, quam palæstritis concessisset, multo maximam partem ipsum abstulisse: neque postulandum fuisse ut ille palæstritas diligeret, qui etiam inventorem olei deum sustulisset; neque illam statuam esse ex pecunia publica neque publice datam, sed eos, qui hereditatis diripiendæ participes fuissent, faciendam statuendamque curasse: eosdem Romæ fuisse legatos, illius adjutores improbitatis, socios furtorum, conscios flagitiorum: eo minus mirari me oportere, si illi communi legatorum voluntati et saluti Siciliæ defuissent.
- 140 LXIII. Ubi eorum dolorem ex istius injuriis non modo non minorem, sed prope majorem quam Siculorum ceterorum esse cognovi, tum meum animum in illos, tum mei consilii negotiique totius suscepti causam rationemque proposui, tum eos hortatus sum ut causæ communi salutique ne deessent, ut illam laudationem, quam se vi ac metu coactos paucis illis diebus decreesse dicebant, tollerent. Itaque, iudices, Syracusani hæc faciunt, istius olientes atque amici. Primum mihi litteras publicas, quas in ærario sanctiore conditas habebant, proferunt: in quibus ostendunt omnia, quæ dixi ablata esse, perscripta, et plura etiam, quam ego potui dicere, perscripta autem hoc modo: quod ex æde Minervæ hoc et illud abesset, quod ex æde Jovis, quod ex æde Liberi—ut quisque iis rebus tuendis conservandisque præfuerat, ita perscriptum erat,—cum rationem e lege redderent et quæ acceperant tradere deberent, petisse ut sibi, quod eæ res abessent, ignosceretur; itaque omnes liberatos discessisse et esse ignotum omnibus: quas ego litteras obsignandas publico signo deportandasque curavi.
- 141 De laudatione autem ratio sic mihi reddita est: primum, cum a C. Verre litteræ aliquanto ante adven-

tum meum de laudatione venissent, nihil esse decretum: deinde, cum quidam ex illius amicis commonerent oportere decerni, maximo clamore esse et convitio repudiatos: postea, cum meus adventus appropinquaret, imperasse eum, qui summam potestatem haberet, ut decernerent: decretum ita esse, ut multo plus illi laudatio mali quam boni posset afferre. Id adeo, iudices, ut mihi ab illis demonstratum est, sic vos ex me cognoscite.

LXIV. Mos est Syracusis, ut, si qua de re ad senatum 142 refertur dicat sententiam qui velit: nominatim nemo rogatur; et tamen, ut quisque ætate et honore antecedit, ita primus solet sua sponte dicere, itaque a ceteris ei conceditur: sin aliquando tacent omnes, tum sortito coguntur dicere. Cum hic mos esset, refertur ad senatum de laudatione Verris. In quo primum, ut aliquid esset moræ, multi interpellant: de Sex. Peducæo, qui de illa civitate totaque provincia optime meritis esset, sese antea, cum audissent ei negotium facessitum, cumque eum publice pro plurimis ejus et maximis meritis laudare cuperent, a C. Verre prohibitos esse: iniquum esse, tametsi Peducæus eorum laudatione jam non uteretur, tamen non id prius decernere, quod aliquando voluissent, quam quod tum cogerentur. Conclamant omnes 143 et approbant ita fieri oportere. Refertur de Peducæo. Ut quisque ætate et honore antecederet, ita sententiam dixit ex ordine. Id adeo ex ipso senatus consulto cognoscite; nam principum sententiæ perscribi solent. Recita. "Quod verba facta sunt de Sex. Peducæo." Dic et, qui primi suaserint. Decernitur. Refertur deinde de Verre. Dic, quæso, quo modo. "Quod verba facta sunt de C. Verre." Quid postea scriptum est? "cum surgeret nemo neque sententiam diceret"—quid est hoc?—"sors ducitur." Quam ob rem? nemo erat voluntarius laudator præturæ tuæ, defensor periculorum, præsertim cum inire a prætore gratiam posset? Nemo: illi ipsi tui convivæ, consiliarii, conscii, socii verbum facere non audent. In qua curia statua tua stabat et nuda filii, in ea nemo fuit, ne quem nudus quidem filius nudata provincia commoveret. Atque etiam hoc me 144 docent, ejus modi senatus consultum fecisse laudationis, ut omnes intelligere possent non laudationem, sed potius irrisiōnem esse illam, quæ commonefaceret istius turpem

calamitosamque præturam. Etenim scriptum est ita, "quod is virgis neminem cecidisset," a quo cognostis nobilissimos homines atque innocentissimos securi esse percussos: "quod vigilanter provinciam administrasset," cujus omnes vigilias in stupris constat esse consumptas; [hoc vero scriptum esse, quod proferre non auderet reus, accusator recitare non desineret] "quod prædones procul ab insula Sicilia prohibuisset [Verres]," quos etiam intra Syracusanam insulam recepit.

- 145 LXV. Hæc postea quam ex illis cognovi, discessi cum fratre e curia, ut nobis absentibus, si quid vellent, decernerent. Decernunt statim primum, ut cum Lucio fratre hospitium publice fieret, quod is eandem voluntatem erga Syracusanos suscepisset, quam ego semper habuissem. Id non modo tum scripserunt, verum etiam in ære incisum nobis tradiderunt. Valde, Hercule, te Syracusani tui, quos crebro commemorare soles, diligunt, qui cum accusatore tuo satis justam causam conjungendæ necessitudinis putant, quod te accusaturus sit et quod inquisitum in te venerit. Postea decernitur ac non varie, sed prope cunctis sententiis, ut laudatio,
- 146 quæ O. Verri decreta esset, tolleretur. In eo, cum jam non solum discessio facta esset, sed etiam perscriptum atque in tabulas relatum, prætor appellatur. At quis appellat? magistratus aliqui? nemo: senator? ne id quidem: Syracusanorum aliqui? minime. Quis igitur prætorem appellat? qui quæstor istius fuerat, P. Cæsetius. O rem ridiculam! O desertum hominem, desperatum, relictum! A magistratu Siculo, ne senatus consultum Siculi homines facere possent, ne suum jus suis moribus, suis legibus obtinere possent, non amicus istius, non hospes, non denique aliquis Siculus, sed quæstor populi Romani prætorem appellat. Quis hoc vidit? quis audivit? Prætor æquus et sapiens dimitti jubet senatum. Concurrit ad me maxima multitudo. Primum senatores clamare, sibi eripi jus, eripi libertatem: populus senatum laudare, gratias agere; cives Romani a me nusquam discedere. Quo quidem die nihil ægrius factum est multo labore meo, quam ut manus ab illo
- 147 appellatore abstinerentur. Cum ad prætorem in jus adissemus, excogitat sane acute quid decernat: nam ante quam verbum facerem, de sella surrexit atque

abiit. Itaque tum de foro, cum jam advesperasceret, discessimus.

LXVI. Postridie mane ab eo postulo, ut Syracusanis liceret senatus consultum, quod pridie fecissent, mihi reddere. Ille enim vero negat, et ait indignum facinus esse, quod ego in senatu Græco verba fecissem: quod quidem apud Græcos Græce locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse. Respondi homini, ut potui, ut debui, ut volui. Cum multa, tum etiam hoc me memini dicere, facile esse perspicuum, quantum inter hunc et illum Numidicum, verum ac germanum Metellum, interesset: illum noluisse sua laudatione juvare L. Lucullum, sororis virum, quicum optime ei convenisset; hunc homini alienissimo a civitatibus laudationes per vim et metum comparare. Quod ubi intellexi multum apud illum recentes 148 nuntios, multum tabellas non commendaticias, sed tributarias valuisse, admonitu Syracusanorum ipsorum impetum in eas tabulas facio, in quibus senatus consultum perscripserant. Ecce autem nova turba atque rixa, ne tamen istum omnino Syracusis sine amicis, sine hospitibus, plane nudum esse ac desertum putetis. Retinere incipit tabulas Theomnastus quidam, homo ridicule insanus, quem Syracusani Theoractum vocant; qui illic ejusmodi est, ut eum pueri sectentur, ut omnes, cum loqui coepit, irrideant. Hujus tamen insania, quæ ridicula est aliis, mihi tum molesta sane fuit: nam cum spumas ageret in ore, oculis arderet, voce maxima vim me sibi afferre clamaret, copulati in jus pervenimus. Hic ego postulare coepi ut mihi tabulas obsignare ac 149 deportare liceret: ille contra dicere; negare esse illud senatus consultum, in quo prætor appellatus esset negare id mihi tradi oportere. Ego legem recitare, omnium mihi tabularum et litterarum fieri potestatem oportere: ille furiosus urgere, nihil ad se nostras leges pertinere. Prætor intelligens negare sibi placere, quod senatus consultum ratum esse non deberet, id me Romam deportare. Quid multa? nisi vehementius homini minatus essem, nisi legis sanctionem poenamque recitassem, tabularum mihi potestas facta non esset. Ille autem insanus, qui pro isto vehementissime contra me declamasset, postquam non impetravit, credo, ut in gratiam mecum rediret, libellum mihi dat, in quo istius

furta Syracusana perscripta erant, quæ ego antea jam ab aliis cognoram et acceperam.

- 150 LXVII. Laudent te jam sane Mamertini, quoniam ex tota provincia soli sunt, qui te salvum velint, ita tamen laudent, ut Heius, qui princeps legationis est, adsit, ita laudent, ut ad ea, quæ rogati erunt, mihi parati sint respondere. Ac ne subito a me opprimantur, hæc sum rogaturus: "navem populo Romano debeantne?" fatebuntur: "præbuerintne prætore C. Verre?" negabunt: "ædificarintne navem onerariam maximam publice, quam Verri dederunt?" negare non poterunt: "frumentum ab iis sumpserintne C. Verres, quod populo Romano mitteret, sicuti superiores?" negabunt: "quid militum aut nautarum per triennium dederint?" nullum datum dicent. Fuisse Messanam omnium istius furtorum ac prædarum receptricem negare non poterunt: permulta multis navibus illinc exportata, hanc navem denique maximam, a Mamertinis datam, onustam cum
- 151 isto profectam fatebuntur. Quam ob rem tibi habe sane istam laudationem Mamertinorum: Syracusanam quidem civitatem, ut abs te affecta est, ita in te esse animatam videmus, apud quos etiam Verria illa flagitiosa sublata sunt. Etenim minime conveniebat ei deorum honores haberi, qui simulacra deorum abstulisset. Etiam, Hercule, illud in Syracusanis merito reprehenderetur, si, cum diem festum ludorum de fastis suis sustulissent celeberrimum et sanctissimum, quod eo ipso die Syracusæ a Marcello captæ esse dicuntur, idem diem festum Verris nomine agerent, cum iste a Syracusanis, quæ ille calamitosus dies reliquerat, ademisset. Ac videte hominis impudentiam atque arrogantiam, iudices, qui non solum Verria hæc turpia ac ridicula ex Heraclii pecunia constituerit, verum etiam Marcellia tolli imperarit, ut ei sacra facerent quotannis, cujus opera omnium annorum sacra deosque patrios amiserant, ejus autem familiæ dies festos tollerent, per quam ceteros quoque festos dies recuperarant.

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO PRIMA

HABITA IN SENATU.

ARGUMENTUM.—L. Sergius Catilina, patricii generis, Sullanis temporibus in cædibus proscriptorum et in rapinis versatus, postea obsecratus res novas moliri cœpit et adjunctis sibi sociis hominibus perditissimis, opprimendæ rei publicæ consilium iniit. Ex Africa, quam M^o. Emilio Lepido L. Volcatio Tullo Coss. (688, U. C.) pro prætore obtinuerat, reversus a P. Clodio repetundarum reus factus est et, quamquam anno post absolutus est, tum tamen consulatus petitione prohibitus. Quare primum cum P. Autronio Pæto et P. Cornelio Sulla, qui Coss. designati in a. DCLXXXIX. U. c. de ambitu damnati cesserant Torquato et Cottæ, et cum Cn. Pisone conspiravit extremo anno DCLXXXVIII., consilio tamen et conatu interficiendorum consulum excidit. Jam quum anno DCXC., quo inter sicarios accusatus esse dicitur, iterum consulatum petiisset, Cicero autem et C. Antonius Hybrida facti essent consules, huic Catilinæ amico ille jam consul (691, U. C.) per Fulviam a Q. Curio consilio de conjuratione certior factus pactione provinciæ persuasit, ne contra rem publicam sentiret, atque furori Catilinæ crescenti omni modo obstittit. Ubi igitur iste rursus consulatum petere aggressus est, Cicero de conjuratione in senatu verba fecit (a. d. XIV. et XIII. Kal. Nov.) et comitiis consularibus a. d. XII. Kal. Nov. in V. Kal. Nov. dilatis effecit, ut Catilina spem abjiceret. Ac quum XII. Kal. Nov. senatus decrevisset, darent operam Coss., ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet, iste extrema experiri et bellum facere constituit. Primus arma contra rem publicam movit, C. Mallius Fæstus missus. Ipse Catilina conjuratis in Læcæ domo consilia noctu (VI. et VII. Id. Nov.) aperuit. Hinc senatus consulto Q. Marcius rex et Q. Metellus Creticus, qui erant ad Urbem cum exercitu, in Apuliam, prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Ceter in agrum Picenum missi sunt, per

totam autem Urbem vigiliis habitæ. Postquam vero a. d. VII. Id. Nov. Cicero insidias effugerat Vargunteii et Corneli per causam matutinae salutationis cædem ipsi molientium, a. d. VI. Id. Nov. in templo Jovis senatum habuit. In quem quum Catilina venire ausus esset, primam in eum orationem dixit, eique suasit, ut urbe exiret. Ipse vero senatores precatus, ne quid temere de se crederent, omnes autem sibi obstrepere conspicatus, minatur suum incendium patrie ruinâ se restincturum, domum se e curiâ proripit et cum aliquot amicis in castra Malliana proficiscitur, relictis in Urbe consciis, quibus cædium et incendiorum partes erant datæ. Proximo die (a. d. V. Id. Nov.) Cicero, ut vulgo rentur, secundam orationem habuit ad populum, quâ invidiam a se averteret Catilinæ sive lenius puniti sive crudelius ejecti. Catilina igitur et Mallius a. d. XII. Kal. Decembr. senatûs consulto patrie hostes sunt judicati. Interea legati Allobrogum a P. Cornelio Lentulo Surâ prætoris per P. Umbrenum, equitem Romanum, sollicitati litteris ad populi sui senatum acceptis, sed Ciceroni per Q. Fabium Sangam civitatis suæ patronum re patefactâ discedentes a. d. IV. aut III. Non. Decembr. tertiâ vigili noctis jussu consulis a L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino prætoribus in ponte Mulvio comprehensi sunt et primâ luce ad Ciceronem deducti. Hic accessit conjurationis principibus et senatu in Concordiæ sedem convocato rem omnem certis indicis et literis patefecit. Itaque novem conjurationis principibus in custodiam datis senatus Ciceroni testimonium conservatæ rei publicæ et novum supplicationis genus decrevit. Quo facto Cicero iterum in concionem progressus a. d. III. aut. prid. Kal. Dec. oratione tertiâ et quæ in senatu acta essent exposuisse et ad concelebrandam supplicationem sibi a senatu decretam populum cohortatus esse fingitur. Denique Nonis Decembribus quum senatu de puniendis conjuratis deliberante duse essent sententiæ, altera D. Junii Silani eos designati supplicium suadentis, altera C. Julii Caesaris conjuratos bonis publicis per municipia custodiendos esse censentis, tandem sententiâ Silani severior Catonis auctoritate et, ut perhibent, oratione Ciceronis quartâ commendata vicit. Itaque senatûs consulto in hanc sententiam facto de quinque conjuratis in carcere supplicium est sumptum; Catilina autem cum plerisque sociis in prælio Pistoriensi Non. Januar. a. U. c. DCXCII. cecidit.

- 1 I. Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum præsidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliæ, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam omnium horum scientia teneri

conjuratiōnem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, o mores! senatus hæc intelligit, consul 2 videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad eandem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satis facere rei publicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis jam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, 3 Ti. Gracchum, mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicæ, privatus interfecit: Catilinam, orbem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Mælium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicæ consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos dico aperte, consules desumus.

II. Decevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul 4 videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium prætorem mors ac rei publicæ poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujus modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicæ periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed jam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. Castra 5 sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriæ

faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus, eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra mœnia atque adeo in senatu videmus intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem rei publicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero, credo erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficere, cum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri
6 poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quam diu quisquam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives, sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis præsiidiis oppressus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient. III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœptus nefarios neque privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis tuæ potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem, mihi crede; obliviscere cædis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quæ jam
7 mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem XII Kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI Kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciæ satellitem atque administrum tuæ? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, cædem te optimatium contulisse in ante diem V Kalendas Novembres, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiri potes te illo die meis præsiidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum te discessu ceterorum, nostra tamen, qui remanississemus, cæde contentum
8 esse dicebas? Quid? cum tu te Præneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo jussu meis

præsiidiis, custodiis vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

IV. Recognosce mecum tandem noctem illam superiorem: jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicæ. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure—in M. Læcæ domum; convenisse eodem complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? convincam, si negas; video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O 9 dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video et de re publica sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Læcam illa nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partes Italiam, statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum, dixisti paululum tibi esse etiam nunc moræ, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos esse pollice-
rentur. Hæc ego omnia, vixdum etiam cœtu vestro 10 dimisso, comperi, domum meam majoribus præsiidiis munivi atque firmavi, exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos prædixeram.

V. Quæ cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo cœpisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimum diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus 11 habenda est atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo

- custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam tætram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicæ pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicæ. Quam diu mihi, consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotiescumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicæ esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rem publicam universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas. Quare quoniam id, quod est primum et quod hujus imperii disciplinæque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua conjuratorum manus: sin tu, quod te jam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum
- 12 magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicæ. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id imperante me facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe jubet consul hostem. Interrogas me: num in exsilium? Non jubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo.
- 13

- VI. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit. Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis non inusta vitæ tuæ est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non hæret in fama? quæ libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfuit? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad
- 14 libidinem facem prætulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego prætermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstiterit aut non vindicata esse videatur. Prætermitto ruinas

fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties : ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne tibi hæc lux, Catilina, aut hujus 15 cæli spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat, te pridie Kalendas Januarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo ? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse ? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse ? Ac jam illa omitto—neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissa postea — : quoties consulem interficere voluisti ! quot ego tuas petitiones ita conjectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi ! Nihil assequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quoties tibi jam extorta 16 est sica ista de manibus ! quoties excidit aliquo casu et elapsa est ! quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero quæ tua est ista vita ? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit ? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus ? Quid ? quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persæpe ad cædem constituti fuerunt, simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas ? Servi me Hercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent 17 ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquentem putarem : tu tibi urbem non arbitraris ? et si me meis civibus injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me adspectu civium quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallet : tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum adspectum præsentiam-

- que vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui nec eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quæ communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et jam diu nihil te judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec judicium sequere nec
- 18 vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptione sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quæstiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpauerit Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe, si est verus, ne opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."
- 19 VIII. Hæc si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod vitandæ suspicionis causa ad M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? a quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque ut domi meæ te asservarem rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem mœnibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum prætorem venisti; a quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum demigrasti, quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam
- 20 dignum custodia judicavit? Quæ cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori æquo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare?
- "Refer" inquis "ad senatum"; id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut intelligas,

quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exsilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc 21 idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, jam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo jure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant; neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui stant circum senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te jam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam ut te hæc, quæ jam pridem vastare studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? 22 tu ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales duint! etsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis, si minus in præsens tempus recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicæ periculis sejungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum pœnas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocaverit. Quam ob rem, ut sæpe jam dixi, proficiscere, ac, si mihi 23 inimico, ut prædicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos cives, secernete a bonis, infer patriæ bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos esse videaris. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, 24

a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? Tu ut illa diutius carere possis, quam venerari ad cædem profisciscens solebas, a cujus altaribus sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium trans-

25 tulisti? X. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te jam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi hæc res affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflata-

26 improborum manum. Hic tu qua lætitia perfruere! quibus gaudiis exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis. Ad hujus vitæ studium meditati illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, jacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam tuam præclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium, quibus te brevi

27 tempore confectum senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius tentare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod est abs te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

XI. Nunc ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quæso, diligenter quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si mecum patria, quæ mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: "M. Tulli, quid agis? Tune cum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire

patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? mosne majorum? at persæpe 28 etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatæ sunt? at numquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? præclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam aut alicujus periculi metum salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed si quis est invidiæ metus, num 29 est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertis ac nequitis pertimescenda? An cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiæ incendio conflagraturum?"

XII. His ego sanctissimis rei publicæ vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, si hic optimum factu judicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiæ mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli 30 sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quæ imminet non vident, aut ea quæ vident dissimulant: qui spem Catilinæ mollibus sententiis aluerunt conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt, quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intelligo hanc rei publicæ pestem paulisper

reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si se ejecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo hæc tam adulta rei publicæ pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

- 31 XIII. Etenim jam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quod si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afficiantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena,
- 32 vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique id quod sæpe jam dixi, discernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suæ consuli, circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cujusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinæ protectione omnia patefacta illustrata, oppressa vindicata esse videatis.

- 33 Hisce omnibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicæ salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Juppiter, qui iisdem quibus hæc urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac mœnibus, a vita fortunisque civium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ, scelerum fœdere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunctos, æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

IN
L. CATILINAM
SECUNDA
AD
QUIRITES ORATIO.

I. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit excessit, evasit erupit. Nulla jam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur; non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes perhorrescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum ex urbe est expulsus. Palam jam cum hoste nullo impediēte bellum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. Quod vero non 2 cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum mœrore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratusque est et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto sæpe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quæ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecit.

II. Ac si quis est talis, quales omnes esse oportebat, 3 qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem

non comprehenderim potius quam emiseric, non est ista mea culpa, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio affectum jam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos majorum et hujus imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui quæ ego deferrem non crederent? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? Ac si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiæ meæ, verum etiam
4 vitæ periculo sustulissem. Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quod etiam moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum copias suas eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in prætexta cœperat, Publicium et Munatium, quorum æs alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicæ motum afferre poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto ære alieno, quam
5 valentes, quam nobiles! III. Itaque ego illum exercitum præ Gallicanis legionibus et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum prætoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, malletm secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod quid cogitent me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoven-
6 tur. Video, cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias cædis atque incendiorum depoposcerit; omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me

delata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid expectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod expectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam videretis: nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinæ similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est, si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem 7 publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis ejecerit! Uno me Hercule Catilina exhausto relevata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? Quæ cædes per hosce 8 annos sine illo facta est? quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Jam vero quæ tanta umquam in ullo homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios amabat ipse turpissime, aliorum amoris flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo non modo Romæ, sed ne ullo quidem in angulo totius Italiæ oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus adsciverit. V. Atque 9 ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ, nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus frigore et fame ac siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur, cum industriæ subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine

- 10 audaciaque consumerentur. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, O nos beatos, O rem publicam fortunatam, O præclaram laudem consulatus mei ! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanæ ac tolerandæ audaciæ; nihil cogitant nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt, res eos jam pridem, fides nuper deficere cœpit: eadem tamen illa, quæ erat in abundantia, libido manet. Quod si in vino et alea comissiones solum et scorta quærerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi: hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus ? qui accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis oblit, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus
- 11 suis cædem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod, et pœnam jam diu improbitati, nequitia, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare jam plane aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa sæcula propagarit rei publicæ. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus, nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit; omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiæ sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites: suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum; quæ sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo; quæ resecanda erunt non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea quæ merentur exspectent.
- 12 VI. At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exilium jussus est, paruit atque ivit. Hesterno die, cum domi meæ pæne interfectus essem, senatum in

aedem Jovis Statoris vocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli: quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quæsi vi a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset necne. Cum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia con- 13 victus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera; quid ea nocte egisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur, quæsi vi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo jam quidem pararet, cum arma, cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam. In exsilium 14 ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Fæsulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant, et ille ejectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra conferet.

VII. O conditionem miseram non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ rei publicæ! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus innocens in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis dicetur, et erunt qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. Est mihi 15 tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego a diis immor-

- talibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiat, sed triduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emisero potius quam quod ejecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, eidem, si interfectus
- 16 esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si me Hercule hoc quod agit numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc præter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.
- 17 VIII. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem et, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicæ; neque id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque
- 18 orationis meæ, si quam potero, afferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in ære alieno majores etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima—sunt enim locupletes,—voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrudere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim expectas? bellum? Quid? ergo in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catalina expectant: meo beneficio tabulæ novæ proferentur, verum auctionariæ; neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum

usuris fructibus prædiorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.

IX. Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam pre- 19
muntur ære alieno, dominationem tamen expectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id quod conantur consequi posse: primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicæ; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam in maxima multitudine, magnas præterea copias militum; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi contra tantam vim sceleris præsentis auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quæ mente scelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, se consules aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse. Tertium genus est ætate jam affectum, 20
sed tamen exercitatione robustum, quo ex genere est ipse Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit: quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi dum ædificant tamquam beati, dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviiis apparatus delectantur, in tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam non nullos agrestes homines tenues atque egentes in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere prædatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere et proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passuræ esse videantur.

- 21 X. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum, qui jam pridem premuntur, qui numquam emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant, qui vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres quam infitiores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines primum, si stare non possunt, corruant, sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quam ob rem, si viverè honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli
- 22 pereant, arbitrentur. Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer carpere non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinæ est, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu, quos pexo capillo nitidos aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis, quorum omnis industria vitæ et vigilandi labor in
- 23 antelucanis coenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his præsertim jam noctibus? quo autem pacto illo Apenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.
- 24 XI. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilinæ copias vestra præsidia vestrosque

exercitus; et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinæ tumultis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, præsidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus nos 25 suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, ærario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis causas ipsas, quæ inter se configunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine: hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In ejus modi certamine ac prælio nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficient, dii ipsi immortales cogant ab his præclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. Quæ cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad 26 modum jam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset præsidii, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione Catilinæ, facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque præmisi, aut opprimet hominem aut omnes ejus motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui 27 contra urbis salutem omniumque nostrum in urbe a

Catilina relictī sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id quod latebat erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viæ; si qui exire volunt, connivere possum: qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse magistratus egregios, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

- 28 XIII. Atque hæc omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maximæ res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe pœnam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestæ audaciæ, si impendens patriæ periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque pœna vos
- 29 jam omnes salvi esse possitis. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic præsentēs suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendent. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO TERTIA

AD QUIRITES.

I. REM publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros, atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus consiliis periculis meis e flamma atque ferro ac pæne ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et si non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incerta conditio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis delubris, tectis ac mœnibus subjectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus, eidemque gladios in rem publicam destrectos rettudimus mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris dejecimus. Quæ quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta et quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis et exspectatis, scire possitis.

Principio, et Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romæ reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus. II. Nam tum,

cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam—non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit—sed tum, cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore
4 putabam. Atque ego ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romæ remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestræ provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum esse T. Volturcium atque huic ad Catilinam esse datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optabam ab diis immortalibus, tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur.
5 Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicæ viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspitione multos fortes viros eduxerant, et ego ex præfectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor assidue in rei publicæ præsidio, cum gladiis miseram. Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum jam pontem magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res prætoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris. III. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Litteræ, quæcumque erant in eo

comitatu, integris signis prætoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorum Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihil dum suspicantem, vocavi; deinde item arcessitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis præter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat. Cum 7 summis et clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei publicæ periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut 8 vidistis, coegi. Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium prætorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex ædibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret, ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis, fidem publicam jussu senatus dedi, hortatus sum ut ea quæ sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum præsidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent cædemque infinitam civium fecissent, præsto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti 9 autem Galli jus jurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fati Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse illum tertium Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam

ante se et Sullam fuisse: eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, 10 post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus cædem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.

V. Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primo ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit; nos linum incidimus, legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese quæ eorum legatis confirmasset facturum esse; orare ut item illi facerent quæ sibi legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abjectus conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam: recitatæ sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quæsivi, cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. "Est vero," inquam, "notum signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos, quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta 11 revocare debuit." Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litteræ. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit, quæsivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiesque venissent, quæsissentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiæ vis esset ostendit: nam cum id posset infitiari, repente præter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim manifesti atque deprehensi sceleris impudentia, qua 12 superabat omnes, improbitasque deficit. Volturcius

vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri jubet, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: "Quis sim, scies ex hoc, quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis et cogita quem in locum sis progressus: vide, quid jam tibi sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infimorum." Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere cœpisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quæ Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, 13 cum illa certissima visa sunt argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique unius cujusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnumquam inter se aspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt a principibus acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et quoniam nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit exponam. Pri- 14 mum mihi gratiæ verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus prætores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur: atque etiam viro forti, collegæ meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicæ consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se prætura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes præsentibus erant, in custodiam traderentur; atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendæ urbis depoposcerat, in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos, pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum, in P. Furium, qui est ex iis colonis, quos Fæsulæ L. Sulla deduxit, in Q. Annium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus, in P.

- Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos
15 ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus usus est, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum pœna re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam supplicatio diis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his verbis decreta est, "quod urbem incendiis, cæde cives, Italiam bello liberassem." Quæ supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceteræ bene gesta, hæc una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam, patefactus indicibus et confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus non modo prætoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, prætorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.
- 16 VII. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, consceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinæ copias, omnes spes atque opes his depulsis urbis periculis concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii adipem nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu, dum urbis mœnibus continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio autem neque manus neque lingua deerat. Jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat, confectum putabat: nihil erat
17 quod non ipse obiret occurreret, vigilaret laboraret. Frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus dili-

gentem nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsem, dicam id quod sentio, Quirites, non facile hanc tantam molem mali a vestris cervicibus depulsem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset neque tanto ante exitii ac fati diem rei publicæ denuntiavisset, neque commisisset ut signum, ut litteræ suæ testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quæ nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam palam inventum, quam hæc tanta in re publica conjuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurrere atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos umquam, dum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberasset.

VIII. Quamquam hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a 18
me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur; idque cum conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, cum vero ita præsentibus his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos pæne oculis videre possemus. Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque cæli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus ceteraque, quæ tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur, hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, neque prætermittendum neque relinquendum est. Nam 19
perfecto memoria tenetis, Cotta et Torquato consulibus complures in Capitolio res de cælo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ et legum æra liquefacta et tactus etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.

- 20 Itaque illorum responsis tum et ludi per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quæ ad placandos deos pertineret, prætermissa est: eidemque jusserunt simulacrum Jovis facere majus et in excelso collocare et contra, atque antea fuerat, ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, ita illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspicere possent. Atque illud signum collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante
- 21 hodiernum diem collocaretur. IX. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam præceps, tam mente captus, qui neget hæc omnia, quæ videmus, præcipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum, cædes, incendia, interitum rei publicæ comparari, et ea per cives, quæ tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita præsens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in ædem Concordiæ ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia, quæ erant cogitata contra
- 22 salutem omnium, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Juppiter restitit; ille Capitolium, ille hæc templa, ille cunctam urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi atque ad hæc tanta indicia perveni. Jam vero ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tantæ res creditæ et ignotis et barbaris commissæque litteræ numquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus huic tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quæ

gens una restat, quæ bellum populo Romano facere posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent vestramque salutem suis opibus antepone-
rent, id non divinitus factum esse putatis? præsertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerint.

X. Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia 23
pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sæpe honores diis immortalibus justis habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu: sine cæde, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recor- 24
damini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit; C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis expulit ex urbe collegam: omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario: tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriæ crudelitatem postea Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est, quanta diminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicæ. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicæ luctum quam ceterorum. Atque illæ tamen omnes 25
dissensiones, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinebant—non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt,—ejus modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiæ, sed internecione civium dijudicatæ sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex hæc fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri

tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitæ cædi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

- 26 XI. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo præterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejus modi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, res nostræ alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur; eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, uno[que] tempore in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terræ, sed cæli regionibus terminaret, alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedesque
- 27 servaret. XII. Sed quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque conditio quæ illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt, quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentis enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent ego providi: ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis jam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est, magna in re publica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet, magna vis conscientiæ, quam qui
- 28 negligunt, cum me violare volent, se indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciæ cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiæ periculisque omnibus: mihi

quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitæ fructum possit
acquiri, cum præsertim neque in honore vestro neque
in gloria virtutis quicquam videam altius, quo mihi
lubeat ascendere? Illud profecto perficiam, Quirites, 29
ut ea, quæ gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque
ornem, ut, si qua est invidia conservanda re publica
suscepta, lædat invidios, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Deni-
que ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim
semper quæ gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non
casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam
jam nox est, venerati Jovem illum, custodem hujus
urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quam-
quam jam est periculum depulsum, tamen æque ac
priori nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne
vobis diutius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetua pace
esse possitis providebo.

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO QUARTA

AD QUIRITES.

- 1 I. VIDEO, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos ; video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicæ, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis et grata in dolore vestra erga me voluntas, sed eam, per deos immortales, deponite atque obliti salutis meæ de vobis ac de vestris cogitate. Mihi si hæc conditio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam lubenter, dum modo meis laboribus vobis
- 2 populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariat. Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur, non campus, consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, non lectus ad quietem datus, non denique hæc sedes honoris umquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex cæde miserrima, conjuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex fœdissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quæcumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeat. Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen inductus

a vatibus fatale ad perniciem rei publicæ fore putavit, cur ego non læter meum consulatum ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse? II. Quare, patres 3 conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriæ, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare, omnes deos, qui huic urbi præsent, pro eo mihi ac mereor relatuos esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit, æquo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari neque misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi et amantissimi præsentis mærore non movear horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum sæpe revocat exanimata uxor et abjecta metu filia et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille, qui exspectans hujus exitum diei stat in conspectu meo, gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius, quam et ille et nos una rei publicæ peste pereamus. Quare, patres conscripti, 4 incumbite ad salutem rei publicæ, circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestræ severitatis judicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cædem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romæ restiterunt; tenentur litteræ, signa, manus, denique unius cujusque confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina arcessitur, id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur. III. Hæc omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis jam judiciis judicavistis, primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem patefactam esse decrevistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare prætura coegistis, 5

tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dando censuistis, maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini: postremo hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejus modi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

- 6 Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum et de facto quid judicetis, et de pœna quid censeatis. Illa prædicam quæ sunt consulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari furorem et nova quædam misceri et concitari mala jam pridem videbam, sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus numquam putavi. Nunc quidquid est, quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant atque sententiæ, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando et prolatando nullo pacto potest: quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

- 7 IV. Video adhuc duas esse sententias, unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos, alteram C. Cæsaris, qui mortis pœnam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus pœnæ sæpe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit mortem ab diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturæ aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti, fortes sæpe etiam lubenter appetiverunt. Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem pœnam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res ini-

quitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare: decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam, et, 8 ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suæ dignitatis recusare. Adjungit gravem pœnam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat et dignas scelere hominum perditorum; sancit ne quis eorum pœnam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum possit levare; eripit etiam spem, quæ sola homines in miseriis consolari solet; bona præterea publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus, quam si eripuisset, multos uno dolore doloris animi atque corporis et omnes scelerum pœnas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejus modi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intelligebant iis remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc ego, patres conscripti, mea video quid 9 intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiæ, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi; sin illam alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicæ vincat. Habemus enim a Cæsare, sicut ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuæ in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem, salutem populi consulentem. Video de istis, 10 qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse nonneminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudius tertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die maximis præmiis affecit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quæsitore gratulationem, indici præmium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa judicavit. At vero C. Cæsar intelligit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam, qui autem rei publicæ sit hostis, eum civem nullo modo esse posse; denique ipsum latorem Sempronie legis injussu populi pœnas

rei publicæ dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largi-
torem et prodigum, non putat, cum de perniciæ populi
Romani, exitio hujus urbis tam acerbe, tam crudeliter
cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque
homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P.
Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et
sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se
jactare et in perniciem populi Romani posthac popu-
laris esse possit: adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum,
ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac
mendicitas consequatur.

- 11 VI. Quam ob rem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis
mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque ju-
cundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile
me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populus Ro-
manus exsolvet, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem
fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quæ potest esse
in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego
enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salva re
publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac
causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—
quis est enim me mitior?—sed singulari quadam hu-
manitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre
hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium
gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo
sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos
civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi
12 et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis. Cum vero mihi
proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se sperare ex
fatis confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium,
cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem
matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum
ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco, et quia
mihi vehementer hæc videntur misera atque miseranda,
idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum
vehementemque præbeo. Etenim quæro, si quis pater
familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, in-
censa domo, supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum
sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors an inhu-
manissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero
importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore et cruciatu
nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos

in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius cujusque nostrum domos et hoc universum rei publicæ domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis crudelitatis in patriæ civiumque perniciæ fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuipiam 13
L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicæ, crudelior nudius tertius visus est, cum sororis suæ, feminæ lectissimæ, virum præsentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, cum avum suum jussu consulis interfectum filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendæ rei publicæ consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quædam contentio. Atque eo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica deminueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicæ Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego et ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, Italiam totam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ. Vereamini censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac tam nefando nimis aliquid severe statuuisse videamini: multo magis est verendum, ne remissione pœnæ crudeliores in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamini.

VII. Sed ea, quæ exaudio, patres conscripti, dis- 14
simulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ne non habeam satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique ætatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni

- omnes aditus hujus loci ac templi. Causa est enim post urbem conditam hæc inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, præter eos, qui cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli
- 15 perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno lubenter; neque enim in improborum civium sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales, qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt! Quid ego equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicæ certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione hujus ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque hæc causa conjungit: quam si conjunctionem confirmatam in consulatu meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicæ partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ rei publicæ convenisse video tribunos ærarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos, quos cum casu hic dies ad ærarium frequentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest
- 16 multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa et hoc commune patriæ solum cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum? VIII. Operæ pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis consecuti hanc suam patriam judicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo loco nati non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro, quos privatæ fortunæ, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea quæ dulcissima est, ad salutem patriæ defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non hæc stare cupiat, qui non, quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat ad
- 17 communem salutem voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concurrare circum tabernas, pretio sperare

posse sollicitari animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perditī, qui non illum ipsum sellæ atque operis et quæstus quotidiani locum, qui non cubile atque lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitæ suæ salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, immo vero—id enim potius est dicendum—genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quæstus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quæstus oclusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

IX. Quæ cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi 18
Romani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiæ conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis, vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis ignem illum Vestæ sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Præterea de vestra vita, de conjugum 19
vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis judicandum est. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quæ non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox pæne deleverit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos qui mihi studio pæne præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

X. Nunc antequam ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca 20

dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam judico esse turpem et infirmam et abjectam. Quod si aliquando alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicæ dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, pœnitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitæ tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim bene gestæ, mihi uni conservatæ rei publicæ gratulationem decrevistis. Sit Scipio clarus ille, 21
cujus consilio atque virtute Annibal in Africam redire atque ex Italia decedere coactus est; ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Karthaginem Numantiamque, delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paullus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit; sit æterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit; anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestæ atque virtutes iisdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ, nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant 22
quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriæ quam domesticæ, quia hostes alienigenæ aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti in amicitiam beneficio se obligatos putant; qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cœperunt, eos cum a perniciæ rei publicæ reppuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus æternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quæ non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper hærebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quæ conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

XI. Quæ cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro 23
provincia, quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis
insignibus, quæ sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque
salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitibusque
provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non minore
labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus
rebus et pro meis in vos singularibus studiis et pro hac,
quam perspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam dili-
gentia nihil a vobis nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei
consulatus memoriam postulo: quæ dum erit in vestris
fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro septum esse arbi-
trabor. Quod si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit
atque superaverit, commendo vobis meum parvum
filium, cui profecto satis erit præsidii non solum ad
salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui hæc
omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium
esse memineritis. Quapropter de summa salute vestra 24
populique Romani, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de
aris ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis
ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de
universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis,
ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere
vestris decretis non dubitet et ea quæ statueritis, quoad
vivet, defendere et per se ipsum præstare.

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA

POETA

O R A T I O.

ARGUMENTUM.—A. Licinius Archias, natus Antiochæ, mature se studiis poeticis dedit et magnopere in hoc litterarum genere excelluit. Peragrata Asiâ cunctâque Græciâ, ubi magnâ cum admiratione omnium *ἐκδιέτεις* exhibebat, pervenit in Magnam Græciam ubi eum et Tarentini et Rhegini et Neapolitani civitate donarunt. Inde Romam sese contulit A.U.C. 652, ubi principibus viris placuit. Satis longo intervallo quum esset cum L. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus, in reditu cum hoc venit Heracliam; quæ quum esset civitas sequissimo jure ac fœdere cum Romanis, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit, idque impetravit. Jam A. U. C. 665, lege Plantiâ Papiriâ (id est, latâ a M. Plantio Silvano et C. Papirio Carbone) data est civitas omnibus iis, qui fœderatis civitatibus adscripti essent, iis videlicet conditionibus, quæ enumerantur cap. 4, § 7. Quibus quidem conditionibus Archias non prorsus satisfecerat, quippe qui tabulis Heracliensium publicis probare non posset se in eam civitatem adscriptum esse, quia Heracliensium tabularium Italico sive sociali bello incendio absumptum erat; maxime autem quia bona sua in censum non intulerat. A Gratio igitur quodam, homine ceteroquin ignoto, propter meram, ut videtur, invidiam reus factus est lege Papiâ latâ A. U. C. 689, cujus hæc vis fuit, ut peregrini Urbe pollerentur et socii Latini in suas quisque civitates redigerentur. Necessary causam per se, ut videtur, admodum difficilem, sed propter accusatoris, quem quadruplatorem fuisse arbitror, sordes facillimam quum suscepisset M. Tullius Cicero, Archiam defendit coram Quinto fratre, prætore urbano A. U. C. 692. Utrum absolutus sit Archias necne, parum comperimus; illud tamen probabilius: quum iudices in re leviculâ Ciceroni consulari vel propterea gratificari debuerint, ne expertes omnis doctrinæ atque humanitatis viderentur, ubi facundam litterarum defensionem respuissent, præsertim in reo prope sexagenario.

Supersunt in Anthologiâ Palatinâ XXXIII. Archiæ epigrammata, ex quibus aliquod de ejus facultate poeticâ judicium ferri potest, Præstantior omnino fuisse videtur in arte "magnum numerum optimorum versuum dicendi ex tempore" (8, 18) quam in poematis elaborandis atque assidue limandis. Specimen tamen hoc esto :

I.

Τρωάδι Παλλαναῖδς ἀνηértησεν Ἀθήνη
 αὐλὸν ἐριβρεμέταν Μίκκος Ἐνναλίου,
 ἥ ποτε καὶ θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν πολέμοισιν ἔμελλεν
 πρόσθε, τὸ μὲν στοναχᾷς σῆμα, τὸ δ' εὐνομίας.

II.

Ἄιδος δ' νεκυηγέ, κεχαρμένη δάκρυσι πάντων,
 ὃς βαθὺ περθμεύεις τοῦτ' Ἀχέροντος ὕδαρ,
 εἰ καὶ σοὶ βέβρηθεν ὅτ' εἰδώλοισι καμόντων
 ὀλκάς, μὴ προλήπῃς Διογένη με κύνα.
 ὀλπὴν καὶ σκίπωνα φέρω καὶ διπλὸν εἶμα
 καὶ πῆρην καὶ σοὶ ναυτιλίας ὀβολόν.
 καὶ ζῶς τάδε μοῖνον, ἃ καὶ νέκυσ ᾄδε κομίζω,
 εἶχον ὅτ' ἡελίου δ' οὐ τι λέλοιπα φάει.

I. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam¹ sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse, earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis et pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si hæc vox hujus hortatu præceptisque conformata nonnullis aliquando salutis fuit, a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur,² quod alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii neque hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus umquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognitione quadam inter

- 3 se continentur. II. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur, me in quæstione legitima et in iudicio publico, cum res agatur apud prætorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos iudices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine iudiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat, quæso a vobis ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis, quem ad modum spero, non molestam, ut me pro summo poeta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum litteratissimorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique prætore exercente iudicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paullo loqui liberius et in ejus modi persona, quæ propter otium ac studium minime in iudiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi.
- 4 Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto ut hunc A. Licinium non modo segregandum, cum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis adsciscendum fuisse.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias atque ab iis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit, primum Antiochiæ — nam ibi natus est loco nobili —, celebri quondam urbe et copiosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluentibus, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiæ partibus cunctaque Græcia sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret.

- 5 Erat Italia tum plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque hæc et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc iisdem in oppidiis, et hic Romæ propter tranquillitatem rei publicæ non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Regini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque præmiis donarunt, et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniiis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. Hac tanta celebritate famæ cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cum res gestas, tum etiam studium atque aures adhibere posset. Statim

Luculli, cum prætextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed erat jam hoc non solum ingenii ac litterarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis, ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiæ prima patuit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. Erat temporibus 6 illis jucundus Q. Metello illi Numidico et ejus Pio filio; audiebatur a M. Æmilio: vivebat cum Q. Catulo et patre et filio: a L. Crasso colebatur; Lucullos vero et Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine cum teneret, afficiebatur summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam si qui forte simulabant.

IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum M. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracleam. Quæ cum esset civitas æquissimo jure ac fœdere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit, idque, cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracleensibus impetravit. Data est civitas Silvani lege et 7 Carbonis, "si qui fœderatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent, si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent, et si sexaginta diebus apud prætorem essent professi." Cum hic domicilium Romæ multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud prætorem Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate 8 ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius; causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracleæne esse tu eum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari sed scire, non audivisse sed vidisse, non interfuisse sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines, hujus judicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc adscriptum Heracleensem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracleensium publicas, quas Italico bello incenso tabulario interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere, requirere, quæ habere non possumus, et de hominum memoria tacere, litterarum memoriam flagitare; et cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jus jurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas,

- 9 quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare. An domicilium Romæ non habuit? Is qui tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit? An non est professus? Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem. V. Nam cum Appii tabulæ negligentius asservatæ dicerentur, Gabinii, quam diu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas omnem tabularum fidem resignasset, Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimisque omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad iudices venerit et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licinii videtis.
- 10 Quæ cum ita sint, quid est quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim cum mediocribus multis et aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte præditis civitatem in Græcia homines impertiebant, Reginos credo aut Locrenses aut Neapolitanos aut Tarentinos, quod scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summa ingenii prædito gloria, noluisse. Quid? cum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserint, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracleensem esse voluit, rejicietur?
- 11 Census nostros requiris. Scilicet; est enim obscurum proximis censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L. Lucullo apud exercitum fuisse, superioribus cum eodem quæstore fuisse in Asia, primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat ac tantum modo indicat, eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse [pro cive], iis temporibus, quem tu criminari ne ipsius quidem iudicio in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum sæpe fecit nostris legibus et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum et in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo pro consule. Quære argumenta, si quæ potes; numquam enim hic neque amicorum iudicio revincetur.
- 12 VI. Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et ani-

mus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures convicio defessæ conquiescant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor me his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se litteris abdidderunt, ut nihil possint ex iis neque ad communem afferre fructum neque in aspectum lucemque proferre: me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, iudices, ut a nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit aut voluptas avocarit aut denique somnus retardarit? Quare quis tandem me reprehendat aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviiis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quæ quantacumque in me est, numquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam sentio. Nam nisi multorum præceptis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilii parvi esse duccenda, numquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenæ sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas: quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt, quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. Quæret quispiam: "quid? illi ipsi summi viri, 15 quorum virtutes litteris proditæ sunt, istane doctrina,

- quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt?' Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare, sed tamen est certum, quod respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse sine doctrina, et naturæ ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et graves existisse fateor; etiam illud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio
- 16 quid præclarum ac singulare solere exsistere: ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem Africanum, ex hoc C. Lælium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos, ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, numquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi remissionem humanissimam et liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceteræ neque temporum sunt neque ætatum omnium neque locorum: at hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.
- 17 VIII. Quod si ipsi hæc neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus: nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negli-
- 18 gemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, iudices,—utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis—quoties ego hunc vidi, cum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quæ tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum

eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis ! Quæ vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem perveniret. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem? Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et præceptis et arte constare, poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur. Sit igitur, iudices, sanctum apud vos humanis-
 19
 simos homines, hoc poetæ nomen, quod nulla umquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiæ sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus optimis non poetarum voce moveamur? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt; permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt. IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poeta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? præsertim cum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam. Nam et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim
 20
 quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus æternum suorum laborum præconium facile patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quæreretur, quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret: "ejus, a quo sua virtus optime prædicaretur." Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cuius ingenio putabat ea quæ gesserat posse celebrari. Mithridaticum vero
 21
 bellum, magnum atque difficile et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrent. Populus enim Romanus aperuit Lucullo imperante Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa

- natura et regione vallatum: populi Romani exercitus eodem duce non maxima manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum ejusdem consilio ex omni impetu regio atque e totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam; nostra semper feretur et prædicabitur L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis est, incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis; nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi: quæ quorum ingeniis effe-
- 22 runtur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore: cujus laudibus certe non solum ipse, qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In cælum hujus proavus Cato tollitur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur. X. Ergo illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Heracleensem, multis civitatibus expetitum, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?
- 23 Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus. Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuumstrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare, quod cum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita gloriæ causa dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum
- 24 incitamentum est et laborum. Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, "o fortunate" inquit "adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!" Et vere: nam nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenæum, scriptorem

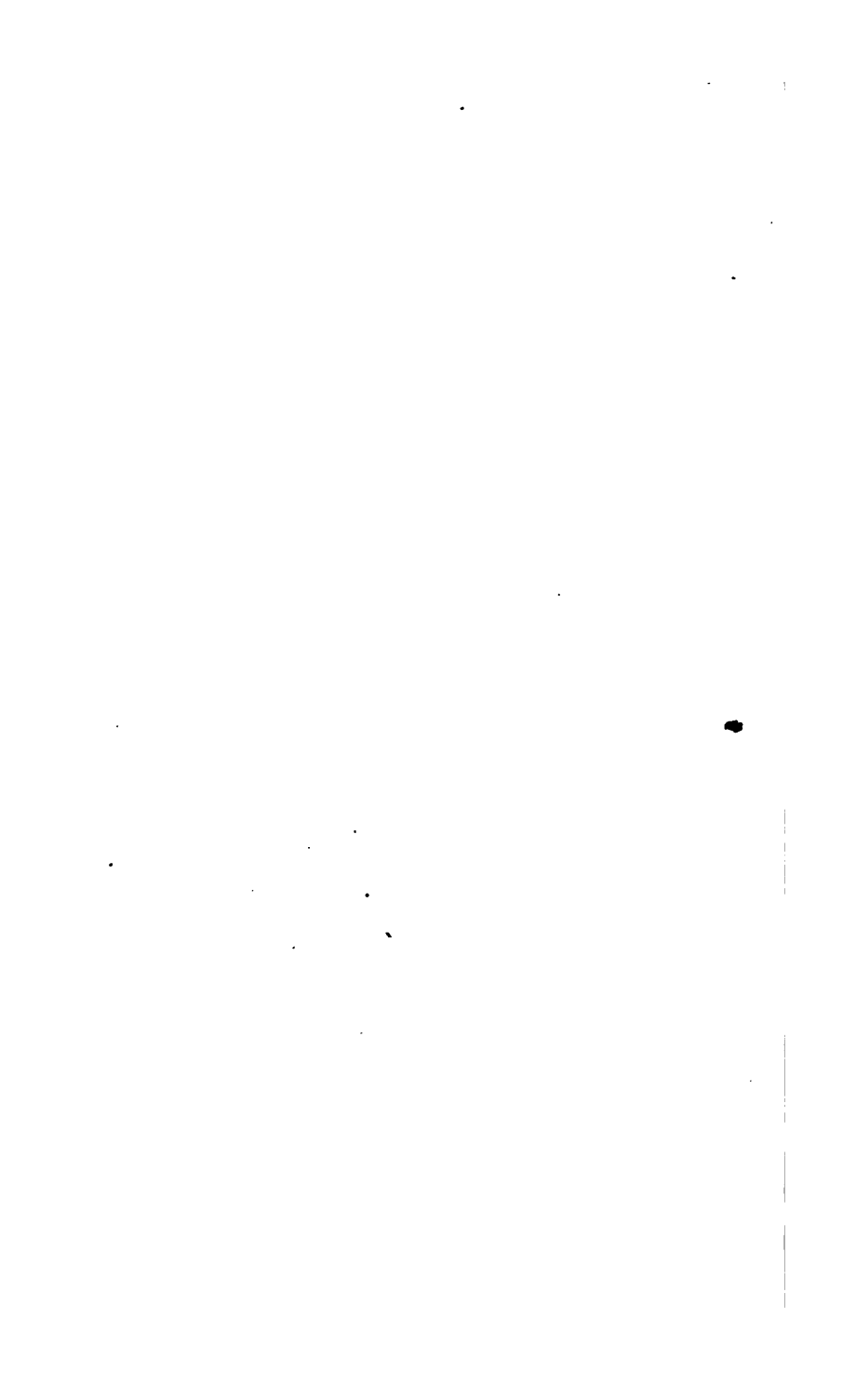
rerum suarum, in concione militum civitate donavit? et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriæ commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt. Itaque, credo, si 25 civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla cum Hispanos donaret et Gallos, credo, hunc petentem repudiasset: quem nos in concione vidimus, cum ei libellum malus poeta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tantum modo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus, quas tum vendebat, jubere ei præmium tribui, sed ea conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui sedulitatem mali poetæ duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? Quid? 26 a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui præsertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubæ natis poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, sed præ nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi etiam in iis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despicunt, prædicari de se ac nominari volunt. Decimus 27 quidem Brutus, summus vir et imperator, Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poetarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices a Musarum honore et a poetarum salute abhorрere.

Atque ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vobis, iudices, 28 indicabo et de meo quodam amore gloriæ, nimis acri fortasse, verum tamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam quas res non in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus orbis atque imperii et pro vita civium proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit; quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et

- jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum adhortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat præter hanc laudis et gloriæ: quæ quidem detracta, judices, quid est quod in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo et tam brevi tantis nos in laboribus
- 29 exerceamus? Certe, si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum et si, quibus regionibus vitæ spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur nec toties de ipsa vita dimicaret. Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, quæ noctes ac dies animum gloriæ stimulis concitat atque admonet, non cum vitæ tempore esse dimetiendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adæquandam. XII. An vero tam parvi animi
- 30 videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica atque in his vitæ periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatium nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt: consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quæ gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. Hæc vero sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.
- 31 Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari cum dignitate tum etiam vetustate, ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse videatis, causa vero ejus modi, quæ beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quæ cum ita sint, petimus a vobis, judices, si qua non modo humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingeniis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis periculis æternum se testimonium

laudis daturum esse profitetur, estque ex eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiat fidei, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur. Quæ de 32 causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, iudices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quæ a forensi aliena judicialique consuetudine et de hominis ingenio et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, iudices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta, ab eo, qui iudicium exercet, certo scio.



NOTES.

ON THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES.

INTRODUCTION.

C. VERRES, a man of good family, but of a profligate and rapacious character, after a most discreditable career, was appointed Proprætor of Sicily, which office he held three years [B.C. 73—71]. His grievous extortions during this whole period, by which the island was nearly ruined, provoked the Sicilians to bring him to trial at the expiration of his term of office. As Cicero had gained their confidence and regard by his integrity in the discharge of his duties as Lilybæan Quæstor (which office he held B.C. 75), they resolved to entrust to him the prosecution of Verres. He readily undertook the task, into which he threw his whole heart. The aristocratical party, aided by the legal ingenuity of Hortensius, the able advocate of Verres, made every effort to screen the offender. But the unwearied energy and oratorical tact of Cicero, aided by the overwhelming mass of evidence against Verres, rendered the issue of the trial so certain, that after some preliminary questions had been decided in favour of the prosecution, Verres, seeing his case was hopeless, went into voluntary exile, and was condemned in his absence.

Only the first two of the Verrine orations, viz. the "Divinatio," or "In Q. Cæcilium," and the "Actio Prima," were actually delivered. The other five were written and published after the trial.

The "Oratio de Signis" gives an account of Verres' plunder of the works of art in Sicily, and contains much incidental information respecting the history of ancient Art. (C.)

I. Studium] "Favourite pursuit."
Cognoscite] "Investigate judicially," a technical law term.
Hence *cognitio*, "a judicial investigation," "trial." (C.)

In Sicilia tota] A rare construction. The *ablatives loci*, thus joined with the adj. *toto* or *tota*, is generally used without *in*. [Cf. Madvig, § 273, c. Zumpt, § 482.] (C.)

Tot oppidia, tot familiae] Not governed by *in*, but put absolutely, as *ablativi qualitatis*. (C.)

Corinthium] The Corinthian bronze seems to have been most highly valued. Pliny says that it was accidentally produced by the melting and running together of various metals at the burning of Corinth by Lucius Mummius, B.C. 146. But in this statement he is mistaken, as some of the artists who made use of the metal lived at an earlier date. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 25.] Pliny also mentions the Delian bronze as greatly esteemed. It is remarkable that according to Pliny [N. H. 34, c. 2, § 6], Verres was put on the proscription-list by Mark Antony because he would not surrender to him his Corinthian bronzes. (C.)

In textili] Here used substantively. "Embroidery" is probably meant. Müller understands it as "a picture on canvas;" but it is doubtful whether canvas was used at so early a date. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 902.] (C.)

2 **Verbi causa**] Often "for instance" (like *verbi gratia*); but here it means "as a mere phrase" (*façon de parler*).

Completor omnia] "Make a general statement."

Latine] As we should say, "in plain English;" i. e. in the plain, obvious, literal meaning of the words. So Phil. vii. 6, *Ut appellant is qui plane et Latine loquuntur*.

Hospitis] Halm seems justified in adopting this conjecture by Jeep, for the common reading *oppidis* scarcely makes sense, as it does not afford the required climax. (C.)

Loci communibus] "Public places," e. g. *curia, basilica, fora, theatra, &c.*

Istum] *Iste* is the regular pronoun by which the advocate speaks (in the third person) of the person *against* whom he is pleading. It means "the person who stands there before *you* (the judges)," or "whom *you* (the counsel for the opposite party) defend." Its notion of *depreciation* does not by any means *belong* to the word; it can at most be implied from the frequency of its use to denote *another* person whom the speaker is attacking, and some one else defending. [Cf. Madvig, § 486. Zumpt, § 701.]

3 **In amore atque in deliciis**] It is usually said that prepositions are thus repeated only when the two substantives are to be considered as distinct. But there are so many exceptions to the rule in the best authors (the present passage being one), as to render it of little practical value. [Cf. Madvig, § 470. Zumpt, § 746.] (C.)

Ex ipsis laudatoribus tuis] The people of Messina had sent an embassy to Rome with a *laudatio* of Verres. (C.)

Mamertinos] A name given to the inhabitants of Messina, from an Oscan people of that name, who, having been quartered at Messina, at the death of Agathocles, got possession of the town, and massacred its male inhabitants, B.C. 282. (C.)

II. **Vel optima**] "Perhaps the best," as it is followed by the

qualifying *certe* ["at all events," "at any rate"]. So Pro Rosc. Am., § 6, *vel potentissimus*. *Vel* generally *strengthens* the superlative. (C.)

Ipsa Messana, quæ . . . ornata sit] i.e. *quomvis*.

[*Nobilitate*] Probably "excellence" rather than "celebrity." (C.)

[*Idiotas*] = *ἰδιώτης*, "a person who has no technical or professional knowledge of a subject." [On gradual change in meaning of word, cf. Abp. Trench's "Select Glossary."] (C.)

[*Praxiteli*] Greek names in *es*, especially those in *oles*, often take in Latin the genitive *i*. [But this form was disused after the time of Cicero. Cf. Madvig, § 42. Zumpt, § 61.] Praxiteles was an Athenian statuary and sculptor [flourished about 364 B.C.], was famous for his statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus, which was considered his masterpiece, and for his statue of Eros. (C.)

[*Thespiadas*] The Muses were so called, because Thespie stands on the south slope of Mount Helicon. Notice Greek accusative in *as*, which is seldom found in prose. [Madvig, § 45. Zumpt, § 74.] (C.)

[*Nimirum*] Ironical. This apologizing for his knowledge of such matters shows that the old Roman contempt for the fine arts was not extinct.

[*L. Mummius*] *Achaicus*, took Corinth, B.C. 146, and removed the works of art which had not been destroyed by his soldiers. (C.)

[*Ex illo oppido*] i.e. *Thespie*. When Mummius destroyed Corinth, he also overran Boeotia, and destroyed Thespie. [This celebrated statue ultimately perished in a fire at Rome in the reign of Titus.] (C.)

III. *Myronis*] A very famous statuary, a younger contemporary 5 of Phidias. He was a native of Eleuthera. His most celebrated statues were his *Discobolus* and his *Cow*. (C.)

[*Canephora*] A rare nom. plural, from Greek *κανηφόροι*. The *Canephora* were Athenian virgins, appointed to carry on their heads baskets [*κδρα*], containing the sacred things in processions at Panathenaea and other festivals. A favourite subject for works of art. (C.)

[*Quem? Quemnam?*] The *quemnam* is more emphatic than the *quem*. "Who? Tell us who?" Of course the verb is omitted. Cicero supposes one of his hearers to ask the question eagerly. [Notice how Cicero (as Pliny remarks in one of his letters) uses *figuras extemporales*, even in a written oration, which was not to be actually delivered.]

[*Polyclitus*] A celebrated sculptor of the best period of Athenian art, a contemporary and rival of Phidias, whom he was thought to excel in statues of men, though inferior to him in representing the gods. There was a later and less famous sculptor of the same name. (C.)

[*C. Claudius*] *Pulcher*, was Curule Ædile, B.C. 99. He was the 6 first who adorned the stage with paintings, and represented a fight of elephants in the circus.

Basilicas] (from *βασιλική*, sc. *olaia* vel *σπεδ*) Public buildings in the Forum, with double colonnades, used both as courts of justice and as exchanges. (C.)

Commodis] = *commodatis*, "loans," a rare meaning of the word. Notice distinction between *commodare*, "to lend something which must itself be returned," as e.g. a statue; and *mutuum dare*, "to lend any thing which may be returned in kind," as money, corn, &c. (C.)

- 7 **Neque aliud ullum tamen**] "None at least, except." The *tamen* is here used as a *correction* of his previous statement: = *certe*. Hence its position after *aliud ullum*.

IV. **Quæ hæc causa est?**] "What kind of case have I to conduct?" (C.)

Facile] "Willingly." (C.)

Sacrorum] = *signorum consecratorum*. (C.)

- 9 **V. Diligentiam**] "Carefulness," "careful" or "minute accuracy."

Potestate] Civil or magisterial authority of *magistratus*. (C.)

Argentum] "Plate," which was included in the *vasarium* or "furniture-money," allowed to a governor of a province. (C.)

Vestem] sc. *stragulam*, carpets, curtains, bed-covers, sofa-covers, &c. (C.)

Quo . . . a populo] i.e. *quo et omnes utimur et (quod, or id) non præbetur a populo*. This omission of a second relative, when it would be in the nominative, after a relative in an oblique case, is not uncommon.

In demortui locum] Notice the peculiar sense of this compound (which is hardly found unless in perf. part.). It is used of any body who has died, so that some other person is to be put in his place. (C.)

Si qui] Properly the indefinite pronoun *quis* is used substantively, and the indefinite *qui* adjectively; but often *quis* is used adjectively, i.e. with a substantive, and *qui* substantively, i.e. without a substantive (as here).

- 10 **Ereptionem . . . non emptionem**] An instance of the figure of *παρονοασία* or *adnominatio*, the juxtaposition of words of similar sound. Cicero is fond of this punning use of words.

Imperio] "the military command." (C.)

Quanti vallet] "for any sum he pleased," i.e. for as little as he pleased: not from the meaning of *quanti*, but from its being implied that the sum would be small.

Exquirere] "to investigate," "to examine." (C.)

Modo ut] "provided that," = *dummodo*.

- 11 **VI. Credo**] Ironical, as often.

In suis nummis multis esse] "had plenty of money of his own." This curious phrase, which seems to be formed backwards from *in ære alieno esse*, occurs also Pro Rosc. Com. § 22, *in suis nummis versabatur*. (C.)

Veri simile non est ut . . . anteponeret] Notice here as singular, (1) the use of *verisimile* with *ut* and subj. instead of infin.; (2) the use of *imperf.* subj. after *present* tense; *verisimile non est* being equivalent to *fleri vis potuit*, or the like. (C.)

Sunt ista, verum tamen] Cicero puts this into the mouth of the supposed objector, "That is true, but," &c.

A pietate] i. e. from dutiful and affectionate regard to the memory of the former owners of the property, his father, &c.

Profecto hinc natum est] "From this arose the proverb." The proverb was probably applied to wealthy men, who would give any price rather than stoop to beg the object of their desires as a gift. Cicero ironically assigns it a different origin and meaning; i. e. "I had rather buy a valuable thing dog-cheap, than take the trouble of begging it as a gift."

VII. *x.cccc*] = *denarius quadringentis* = 1600 *sestertii*, the sum mentioned above. An *ablativus pretii*. (C.)

Putasset] "had valued it at." A rare sense of the word. (C.)

Commisisset ut] "had given occasion." It is only used with reference to some *unpleasant* result.

Iste] i. e. Verres.

Ne forte . . . reticeat] This depends on some implied notion of fear. "It is to be feared that he may," &c.

Dum serviat] "if only," "provided that." (C.)

Commisi] "I yet trusted my case to him."

Prima actione] "in my first speech." (C.)

Ut homo turpissimus esset] "even if he were," "even supposing him to be."

VIII. *Cybara*] "a transport." A Sicilian word. The word is probably derived from *κύβη*, which occurs in Hesychius as the name of a kind of ship. [Cf. Lat. *cupa*, a "tub," "cask."]

Hae lege] i. e. the *Lex de Repetundis*. The one in force at this time was the *Lex Cornelia*, passed while Sulla was Dictator, B.C. 81. (C.)

Eequi?] This interrogative form mostly expects the answer "No;" i. e. implies that there is none; and often carries with it the notion of an impatient, indignant feeling, that there *should* be some.

Denique] marks a climax—"Nay, more." (C.)

Socius amicusque populi Romani] A technical expression, because he was a citizen of Messana, a *civitas foederata*. (C.)

Adficeretur ignominia] i. e. *ἀτιμία*. Probably on the charge of *ναρκαρβεία*, as Greek law prevailed in the cities of Sicily. (C.)

IX. *Fas te impetravisse*] "suppose yourself to have gained your object."

Ingratilis] "unwillingly." (C.)

Negent?] The present subj. is here to be translated by the fut. indic. "Will they deny?" It contemplates a conceived case as improbable.

Navi] sc. *facienda*.

Procedat in numerum] "go on smoothly," "as you would wish." The metaphor is taken from actors *keeping time* correctly. Cf. *Paradoxa*, 111, *histrio si paulo se movet extra numerum*.

At publice commodasti] "but (you will say) you have," &c. The *at* puts the sentence in the mouth of an objector. *Commodasti* = *beneficio affecisti*.

- 21 **Empta—dare**] “to supply at a certain fixed price.” This demand was made on all the cities of Sicily by the *Lex Terentia et Cassia* (Verr. § 52). The price paid was about half the market price. (C.)
- Immunes populos**] = *civitates immunes ac liberae*; i. e. States which were exempt from taxation, and governed by their own magistrates. They were, however, required to supply the *emptum frumentum* mentioned above. (C.)
- Hoc**] *sc. frumento translato*. (C.)
- Navem imperare**] “to order them to supply.” A common use of the word. (C.)
- 22 **X. Phaselis**] A commercial city on the coast of Lycia, near the border of Pamphylia. On account of the encouragement it had given to pirates, P. Servilius Isauricus destroyed it. (C.)
- Ita C. Cato . . . aestimata est**] The passage, as it stands, is unintelligible. Hence (1) Halm (after Fr. Richter) thinks that some words have dropped out after *filius*. This view of the passage seems to me the most probable. (2) Zumpt and Orelli reject the words, as a gloss which has slipped into the text from the margin. (3) Klotz retains the common reading, putting a colon after *condemnatus est*, and translating *ita*, “yes, indeed.” But I doubt whether *ita* ever bears this meaning, except in answers to questions. (C.)
- Hunc Mamertini irati fuerunt**] It is not known why.
- Timarehidi**] A freedman of Verres, whom he employed as his agent in various acts of extortion and cruelty.
- Imponenda**] “to be put on board ship,” “embarked.” (C.)
- 24 **Verris**] A festival in honour of Verres, instituted by himself. (C.)
- Quod in convivium**] “to the banquet connected with which festival.” (C.)
- Civem Romanum**] P. Gavius. His wretched fate is related in detail (Verr. v. §§ 158—170, where occur the often quoted words respecting crucifixion: “*Facinus est vincire civem Romanum; scelus verberare; prope parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere? verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest*”). (C.)
- 25 **XI. Non in provinciis nostris**] = *non dico in provinciis nostris*.
- Cujus beneficio**] “by whose favour.” Used especially of offices conferred by the vote of the Roman people. Cicero had been appointed Quæstor B.C. 75, and so after the termination of his period of office had a seat and voice in the Senate. (C.)
- Hunc ordinem**] *Ordo Senatorius*. (C.)
- Exteras nationes**] (1) Probably “foreign nations.” (2) Madvig explains it “subject and tributary nations.” But these would rather be included under *socii*, and the context favours the first explanation. (C.)
- Publicæ**] “in their public capacity,”—the visitor being entertained at the house of the *πρόξενος*. (C.)
- Pompei sunt**] They adopted his name, when they received the Roman citizenship by his influence.

L. frater meus] = *frater patruelis*, "cousin." He accompanied him to Sicily on this journey.

Jacuit] Either (1) literally "lay down in the street" (so far as you were concerned): or (2) figuratively, "was despised," "rejected," = *abjectus est*. (C.)

Expiastis] "purified from pollution." (C.)

Reginis, quorum civitati invidetis] The people of Rhegium (now *Reggio*), a famous Greek town on the coast of Bruttium, opposite Messina. They had received the *jus civitatis* by the *Lex Julia*, which gave the *civitas* to the *socii* and *Latini* at the time of the Social War, B.C. 90. (C.)

Incolis] "foreign residents," = *μετρώκοι*,—and so, here and elsewhere, opposed to citizens. They were Roman citizens, domiciliated at Messina. (C.)

XII. Hæc] i. e. "these statues of Heius."

Attalica] Things made of cloth woven with gold; so named from Attalus III., king of Pergamus, who invented the art.

Tota Sicilia nominata] (1) "Celebrated throughout all Sicily." (2) As this is an unusual signification of *nominatus*, Zumpt joins *nominata ab eodem Heio*. But the order of words seems to forbid this. (C.)

[Peripotasmata] The position of this word is extremely awkward, and Halm brackets it as spurious, thinking it was originally a gloss on *Attalica*. (C.)

Eodem modo ut] A rare construction for the usual one, *eodem . . . quo*. So Tusc. ii. 3, *eisdem fere verbis, ut actum disputatumque est*. [Zumpt, § 704. Madvig, § 324.] (C.)

Quid enim actum est?] Either (1) "For what gain did you get? Did you merely save your paper?" or (2) "For what occurred that you did not sell them?" (C.)

Peripotasmata] = *περιτρεδωματα*, "sofa-covers," "draperies," &c. (C.)

Quæsi, num misisset] This is the only passage in Cicero in which all the MSS. have *an* in the sense of "whether" in a simple indirect question; a use which is confined to later writers. [Zumpt, § 353. Madvig, § 453.] Hence Halm conjectures *num*. (C.)

Dicto audientem fuisse prætori] "to be hearkening to what is said," i. e. "to obey;" hence, like other verbs of *obeying*, takes the *dat. personæ*, besides the original dative.

Jubere, ut] A rare construction for simple inf. [Madvig, 28 § 390, obs. 2. Zumpt, § 617.] (C.)

Fuit tanti] "it was worth while." [Madvig, § 294, obs. 3. Zumpt, § 444, note.] (C.)

Defenderes] "allege in your defence." A common Ciceronian use of the word. (C.)

Phaleras] Trappings for foreheads and breasts of horses. 29 (C.)

Per illum . . . ubi] *Ubi* = *apud quem*, as often. (C.)

XIII. Gilyræ] The capital of the Greater Phrygia.

Inanibus syngraphis] *Syngrapha*, "any written agreement," "bond." The commentators are in doubt as to the *precise*

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meaning of *inanibus*. (1) Perhaps they were bills or promissory notes for which no value had been received. (2) Zumpt thinks that there is a reference to the affair of Malleolus (Verr. i. 36), and that they were *blank forms* of bonds or bills, into which Verres intended to insert his own name instead of Malleolus's as against debtors of Malleolus. (C.)

Legationis] When Verres was *legatus* of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, praetor of Cilicia. (C.)

- 31 *Q. Tadius*] A *legatus* of Verres, who may at this time have been *quaestor* of Verres. (C.)

Dedisse] Here seemingly, "paid certain sums." (C.)

Diceret] Notice particularly this use of 2nd pers. imper. subj., to express an indefinite person: "one might say." The English language has the same idiom: "You might say." [Madvig, § 370. Zumpt, § 527, note 2.] (C.)

Perdendum erat] "had to be given up for lost." (C.)

Argentum] "Plate," as before. (C.)

- 32 XIV. *Boethi*] A statuary and engraver of Carthage or Chalcodon.

Per potestatem] "by an abuse of his official power." (C.)

Venerius] A slave belonging to the temple of Venus at M. Eryx in Sicily = *ἱερὸδούλος*. Verres often used them as attendants. (C.)

Scyphos sigillatos] "sculptured," "ornamented with figures in relief" [from *sigillum* (dimin. of *signum*), "a small image"].

Binos habebam] Probably "two pairs." Though some think "one pair" is meant. Pairs of cups are often mentioned. [Cf. Virg. Ecl. iii. 36. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 117.] Perhaps one was intended for wine, and the other for water, or possibly (as Orelli suggests) one for Greek and the other for Italian wines. (C.)

elo.] 1000. (C.)

Luteum negotium] "a poor affair." So Verres is called *homo luteus* (iii. 14).

- 33 XV. *Comperendinatus*] "when his trial had been deferred to the third day." [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 647.] (C.)

Pro damnato] "as good as condemned." (C.)

Ludis circensibus] The races and other games which took place in the *Circus Maximus* at Rome. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 283.] (C.)

L. Sisennam] A Roman historian, who at this time took Verres's part. He was probably Curule Aedile this year, and in virtue of his office would have to superintend the *Ludi Circenses*. (C.)

Pueri] "the servants," as often. (C.)

- 34 *Lege comperendinatus, &c.*] *Re*, "in fact," opposed to *lege*. Though according to the letter of the law, his trial was put off to a later day, yet men considered him as good as condemned already.

XVI. *Factae sunt litterae*] "an entry was made in his account," or, "a paper relating to the purchase was drawn up." (C.)

Quo modo . . . in donationem histrionum esset imavit] By *donatio histrionum* is meant a "douceur" which was given by the Aedile to a successful actor in addition to his regular salary. This

"douceur" was called a *corollarium*, and seems to have consisted of a wreath of gold and silver leaves. It is not clear to what Cicero alludes in the words *tenuissime astimavit*. It has been suggested that these *corollaria* were limited by law to a certain weight, to keep the expense within limits, and that this regulation was evaded by reckoning them as lighter than they really were. (C.)

Me enim . . oportebat] For the prætor Glabrio had given him 36 authority to require that he should be put in possession of the necessary papers.

Negas te horum annorum, &c.] "You say you have not kept any accounts for some years past." The genitive depends on *tabulas*, to be supplied from above.

XVII. Mensam citream] A table made of the fragrant wood 37 of the African *citrus*, not the *citron*, but probably some kind of *cypress*, or *juniper*. This wood was greatly valued on account of its beautiful veining, and tables made of it fetched an enormous price. (C.)

Scaphia] "Drinking cups." (From *σκαφίον*.) (C.)

Emblematis] = *εμβλήματα*, "ornaments in raised work," on cups, which could be taken out of their setting. Notice ablative plural in *is*, from *emblemata*, -*atis*. This is generally the case with Greek words in *ma*, though the genitive plural is always in *um*. [Madvig, § 44. Zumpt, § 67.] (C.)

XVIII. quo] = "ad quem." [Madvig, § 317, d. Obs. 2.] 38

De hoc . . dicitur . . habere eum] A clumsy circumlocution, which is generally avoided. (1) Madvig [§ 395, Obs. 7] thinks it is used here "because the passive *dīcor* is only used personally in the signification, 'it is said' (generally) of me," and does not admit of a dative. (2) Halm regards it as an intentional homeliness, designed to give the style an unstudied character. (C.)

Toreumata] "Chased work," or "work in relief," or both kinds. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 219.] (C.)

Thericleia] = *θηρίκλεια*, "drinking-cups," named either (1) after Thericles, a famous Corinthian potter, as is the general opinion; or (2) from the figures of animals, with which they were adorned. (C.)

Mentor] The most famous of all the Greek silver chasers. [Cf. Juv. viii. 104, "raræ sine Mentore mensæ." Martial iii. 41.] (C.)

Scribit, . . ut responderet] Notice use of *imperf.* subj. in 39 dependent sentence after *historical present*. Zumpt observes that "on the whole, the imperfect is, perhaps, more frequent than the present." [Madvig, § 382, Obs. 3. Zumpt, § 501.] (C.)

Paucis illis diebus] "A few days before." (C.)

Sine ulla dubitatione] "So that nobody could doubt," "unquestionably." (C.)

Minitari] An instance of the use of the *infinitive historicus*, or *descriptive infinitive*, joined to the subject in the nominative. It is used in a rapid and picturesque narrative instead of the imperfect indicative. [Madvig, § 392. Zumpt, § 599.] (C.)

Eriphylam] The wife of the prophet Amphiaræus. When

Amphiaraus was invited by King Adrastus to the Theban war, he refused, and concealed himself, because he foresaw that he should never return. He was at length betrayed by his wife, whom Adrastus had bribed with a gold necklace, and forced to the war, where he was swallowed up by an earthquake.

- 40 XIX. *Vasa collegerat*] Literally, "had packed up his baggage," a military term, used here with a play on the double meaning of *vasa*. (C.)

Homo] Verres, as below, *hominem*. (C.)

Nomen deferri] "That an accusation should be brought against him;" "that he should be informed against." (C.)

Ut opinor, . . . recepissee] Notice the anacoluthon. (C.)

- 41 In *Sthenio*] His story is related Verr. II. 36. (C.)

- 43 XX. *Equuleos argenteos*] "Silver vessels with figures of little horses on them;" or "silver vessels in the shape of little horses." With second expl. cf. note of Orelli: "I remember seeing a little brazen horse of this kind, which was used three centuries ago at the banquets of the knights of Malta. There was an aperture in the back into which the wine was poured, which was drunk through a reed projecting from the back. The artist seems to have retained the form of the cup from antiquity."

Nobiles] Probably "excellent." Cf. 'nobilitate,' ch. ii. (C.)

Qui Q. Maximi fuerant] (1) Zumpt and Halm prefer this reading: "which had belonged to Q. Maximus." (2) Some read "quique maximi (or 'maxime') fuerant," "which had been of great value." But in that case Cicero would probably have written *erant*, as *fuerant* would imply that the vessels had lost their value. (C.)

Imprudens huc incidi] "I inadvertently fell into the use of this word, *aufert*." (C.)

Est tanti] (1) "It is worth my while," i. e. to be so contradicted, provided I can get a sight of the accounts. So Halm, whose explanation I prefer. (2) Long translates, "it is worth your while," i. e. to produce the books, and clear yourself of this charge. (C.)

Confirmabat] "Affirmed." A common use of the word in Cicero. (C.)

- 45 *Ut non conferam*] Zumpt quotes this passage as an instance of the very rare use of *ut non* for *ne*, to express a *purpose*. [Zumpt, § 347.] But *ut non* does not *very distinctly* mark a purpose here. (C.)

+ *CCC milia*] A conjecture, as the reading of MSS. "H.S. CCC" is manifestly an insufficient sum for bribes. (C.)

Divisoribus] "Persons hired by candidates to bribe the electors." (C.)

Renuntiarere] "that you might be returned as elected," a technical term. "In the case of elections, the successful candidate was proclaimed twice, first by the *præco*, and then by the president, and without this *renuntiatio* the election was not valid." SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 336. [Cf. our "Declaration of the state of the poll."] (C.)

Ne tibi odiosus esset] "That he might not cause you any trouble."

XXI. In Papinio] "In the case of Papinius."

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Artificia] Either (1) = *artes*: "that the fine arts flourished greatly in Sicily;" or (2) = *officinas calatorum*, or the like: "that there were many places in Sicily where works of art were produced." (C.)

Ante istum prætorem] "Before this fellow's prætorship."

Patella . . patera] The *patella* seems to have been a plate or dish used in sacrifices to offer *solid* food, the *patera* to offer *wine* and other liquids. (C.)

Sigillis ac simulacris] Probably the *sigilla* were "groups of small figures," the *simulacra* "single figures" embossed on the plate.

Id egisse] "To have made it his express object."

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XXII. *Ostiatim*] "From door to door," "from house to house," i. e. mentioning every house where such crimes had been committed. (C.)

Apuð villam] "*In the villa*," a rare use in *early* authors, *apud* generally signifying "near." It is found again, Terence, *Andr.* II. 1. 2, *apud forum modo a Davo audiui*. [Zumpt, § 297.] (C.)

Ceterum] Here an adjective, "the rest of the plate."

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Purum] "Plain," i. e. not ornamented with figures; opposed to *calatum*. [So *Juv.* x. 19, *argenti vascula puri*.] (C.)

Ne purus . . relinqueretur] "Cleaned out," "deprived" of all his plate, with a play on the word.

Acroama] From *ἀκρόαμα*. Literally, "any thing heard with pleasure," as a "musical piece," or "recitation;" hence "an actor or performer" employed to amuse guests during an entertainment. (C.)

Corollario] "A douceur." [See Note on § 35.] (C.)

Interpretes] "Agents." (C.)

De loco superiore] "From the tribunal," on which he sat as prætor. (C.)

XXIII. *Copiosum*] "Wealthy." (C.)

50

Proagorum] = *προήγορον*, the name of the chief magistrate in some Sicilian towns, often occurring in Sicilian inscriptions.

Primum] = *primarium*, "a man of high rank," as often in Cicero. (C.)

Illa vero optima] (1) Zumpt reads *optima est*, and supplies 51 *res*; comparing *sed illa palmaris* (sc. *sententia*) *est*. De Nat. Deor. 1. 2, and *refert suam illam Syracusanam* (sc. *fabulam*). Act. 2. 23. (2) Against this Madvig and Orelli urge that no substantive is here sufficiently implied: they suppose Cicero to use the plural instead of the singular,—because, though the tale he is about to subjoin is *one*, yet he wishes to indicate that it was made up of a *collection* or *aggregate* of separate thefts. "But the best of all is, that" &c.

Provinciam] "business," "charge." (C.)

Nec quid faceret habebat] "and did not know what to do."

Qui videret . . diceret] "any one who had seen it would 52

have said." A rare use of the *third* person of the potential conjunctive in this way. We commonly find the *second* person thus used. [Zumpt, § 528. Madvig, § 350.] (C.)

Efferrī . . . extorquerī . . . effringī] Infinitives used in lively narrative for past tenses of the indicative.

Thecis] *θῆκη*, "cases," "covers." (C.)

Ne quem putetis] "which remark I make, that you may not think." It gives the reason *why* he had just made the previous remark.

Crustæ] They appear to have been coverings of chased metal, fastened on the vessels so that they could be removed. (C.) The *emblemata* were perhaps *inlaid*; but the distinction between the two is not certain. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., pp. 282 and 456.] (C.)

Excussis deliciis] (1) Zumpt, Orelli, and Halm supply *ex manibus*. (2) Others supply *ex vasis*, in which case Halm argues that *evulsis* would have been used. (C.)

53 *XXIV. Everriculum*] A pun on the name *Verres*. [Cf. II. § 52.] (C.)

Avertere] "appropriate," "steal." A common meaning of the word in Cicero. (C.)

Per magistratum] i. e. through the magistrates of the *provincial towns*; from whom, by threats, bribery, &c., they obtained donations from the revenues of those towns.

Illos . . . accusatores puto fuisse] "I think those were accusers who really deserved the name."

In luto volutatum] A punning reference to the meaning of *verres*, "a male swine," "boar-pig." (C.)

Permagnus est] Ironical. (C.)

Dicis causa] "for form's sake," "for the sake of appearance." The etymology of this singular word is doubtful. (1) Halm derives it from an unused nom. *dis*, related to *dico*. (2) Others from *dica* = *δίκη*, a *law-suit*. (3) Others from *dico*. (C.)

54 *Postea quam . . . collegerat*] '*Postquam*' is rarely found thus used with *pluperfect* of an event ensuing *immediately*. It commonly takes the perfect. [Zumpt, §§ 506, 507. Madvig, § 338.]

Cum tunica pulla] A dark-coloured tunic, worn by the lower classes, as not showing the dirt. (C.)

Cum pallio] The *Greek* garment worn over the tunic, as opposed to the Roman *toga*. Halm observes that, though the Greek *pallium* or *ἱμάτιον* was worn by Romans when they were mixing with Greeks, or at their country-houses, it was an altogether unsuitable dress for the Prætor of a province. [On the gradual disuse of *toga* cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT. p. 1134.] (C.)

55 *XXV. Conventu Syracusano*] "the body of *Roman citizens* living at Syracuse." The word originally meant the meetings of Roman citizens at certain places appointed by the Proconsul or Prætor for administration of justice and transaction of other business. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT. p. 357.] (C.)

Aliquam multi] The only instance of the use of this word is

a classical author. It is only found besides in A. Gellius and Apuleius, who were fond of archaisms. (C.)

Hujus L. Pisonis] "the Piso who is now living." He was 56 Verres's colleague as Prætor (B.C. 74).

Diligentem] "scrupulous." (C.)

Ut his nomen suum, &c.] "as Verres (by his conduct) justified his name [*log*], so did Piso justify his surname [*Frugi*]." (C.)

XXVI. Cretula] A kind of earth which the Greeks and 58 Asiatics used to seal with. Herodotus (II. 38) calls it γῆ σφραγιστική. Cicero (pro Flacc. c. 16) speaks of it as *creta illa Asiatica quæ fere est omnibus nota nobis*. The Romans used wax to seal with.

Tricenos lectos] Halm observes that the number seems incredibly large, as a *triclinium* or dining-room had usually only three couches. Hence he is disposed to conjecture *trinos*. (C.)

Nulla domus . . . fuit, ubi . . . non . . . instituerit] Notice the use of the perfect subjunctive, where we should have expected the perf. indic. [Zumpt, § 504.] (C.)

Tantum operam amici] Cicero ironically puts this extenna- 59 tion into the mouth of a supposed defender of Verres.

Æratos] Either (1) "with bronze feet," an use of bronze 60 which Pliny mentions [N. H. 34, c. 2, § 9]; or (2), perhaps, "couches made altogether of bronze," like our iron and brass bedsteads.

XXVII. Reges Syriæ] Antiochus and his brother, the sons 61 of Antiochus Eusebes. They claimed Egypt in right of their mother Selene, the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, and sister of Lathyrus, on whose death, and the assassination of his only legitimate daughter, Berenice, the throne was claimed by an illegitimate son, Ptolemy XI. (Anletes.)

Syriæ regnum . . . sine controversia . . . obtinebant] (1) They were kings *de jure*, according to Zumpt, but not in actual possession of Syria, which had been usurped by Tigranes,—a fact suppressed by Cicero lest his hearers should consider them merely nominal princes. (2) But Halm is disposed to think that Antiochus had at this time actually recovered his kingdom. Appian informs us that he did regain it, but was soon ejected by Pompey, who restored Tigranes.

Temporibus rei publicæ] The Servile war in Italy. Perhaps, too, there may be a reference to the Mithridatic war in Asia, and the Sertorian war in Spain. The Syrian princes appear to have been at Rome B.C. 74—73. (C.)

Dæumis] "tithes," a tenth of the produce paid by the land- 62 holders as a land-tax to the state. (C.)

Trulla] The meaning of *trulla* is very doubtful. (1) Some understand a kind of "colander" for straining wine. (2) Others a "ladle," with which the wine was put into the *pocula* or "winecups" from the *crater* or "bowl." (3) Others translate, "a drinking vessel."

Manubrio aureo] The prep. *cum* is not needed, as the handle was a part of the *trulla*.

- 64 XXVIII. *E gemmis clarissimis*] i. e. "ornamented with jewels;" for we are told, § 71, that the *material* was gold: *e gemmis auroque perfectum*.
Nondum perfectum templum] The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt B.C. 83. Sulla began to restore it; and after his death it was dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus, B.C. 69.
Non quo . . . metueret] "Not as if," "not that." On this remarkable use of *non quo* with the subj. (for which *non quod* with subj. is also often found), cf. Zumpt, §§ 536, 537. Madvig, § 357, b. (C.)
Ut ne] A pleonasm = *ne*, very often occurring in Cicero, but seldom in other writers. [Zumpt, § 347. Madvig, § 456.] (C.)
- 65 *Prætorium*] Properly, "a general's tent;" hence (as here) "the residence of the governor of a province." (C.)
Inanes] "Empty handed." (C.)
- 66 XXIX. *Mittit . . . ut reddat*] "Sends word to him that he is to," with the same construction as a verb of *commanding* or *requesting*. So *scribo* is used. [Madvig, § 372. Zumpt, § 615.]
Si videatur] "If it seems good to him," "if he pleases," a courteous form of request.
Appellat] "Applies to him for it." Often used of a creditor's application for payment. (C.)
Os] "Impudence." So in English, "he had the *face* to say so and so." (C.)
Petere cepit] An instance of what Zumpt describes as "a descriptive circumlocution of the *verbum finitum*." It is a pleonasm of frequent occurrence. [Zumpt, § 753.]
Removeri] "Be moved from his refusal." (C.)
- 67 XXX. *Quæ latera*] "What lungs," i. e. what strength for speech. The word often occurs in this sense. (C.)
- 68 *Interservo*] "Intercepted," i. e. "embezzled," "appropriated." (C.)
In rege] "In the case of a king."
- 69 XXXI. *Senatus populiq[ue] Romani beneficio*] See on § 25.
- 70 *Conventu Syracusano*] See on § 55.
Actor] A "plaintiff," or "manager of a prosecution," in a civil or private action often called *petitor*, in a public action, as here (*causa publica*), called *accusator*. (C.)
- 71 XXXII. *Chelidonis*] A mistress of Verres. (C.)
- 72 XXXIII. *Segesta . . . ab Ænea . . . conditum*] Thucydides also (vi. 2) says it was of Trojan origin. Dion. Halicarn. says there was a temple of Æneas at Segesta. According to the Roman tradition it was founded by Acestes, the son of a Trojan woman, whom Æneas found in Sicily on his arrival, and assisted in founding the city. [Cf. Virg. *Æn.* v. 711.]
Quidem] Used *adversatively*, as in §§ 26. 173. (C.)
- 73 *Diligentiam*] "Scrupulous integrity." [Cf. *diligentem*, § 56.] (C.)
Ille nobilis taurus] This famous bronze bull is said to have

been made by one Perillus, who is reported to have been the first to suffer by his own cruel invention. (C.)

Phalaris] The cruel tyrant of Agrigentum, whose reign is supposed to have lasted from B.C. 570 to B.C. 554. Very little is known of his real history. (C.)

Quo] = *in quem*. (C.)

Utrum] Probably here a pronoun rather than an adverb. So Halm and Madvig. (C.)

XXXIV. Signum cum stola] So Artemis was represented in 74 ancient Greek art, with a garment reaching to the feet, while later sculptors represented her as *Diana venatrix*, wearing a tunic drawn up to the knees.

Atque etiam] = *atque adeo*, or *ac potius*, "but rather." 76

Amplius quam ferre possent] = *amplius quam quod*: and so takes the subj. to denote a consequence. [Zumpt, § 560. Madvig, § 364.] (C.)

Fora] The towns in which the prætor was accustomed to hold his *convventus* or courts. (C.)

Tollendum locatur] "The removal of the statue is offered to public contract." (C.)

XXXV. Peregrinum] "Resident alien" = *μέτοικος*. (C.) 77

Barbaros quosdam] i. e. not Greeks. That part of Sicily, being without Greek colonies, was left to the aboriginal Sicani and Carthaginian settlers.

Nunc . . . auferebat] *Nunc* occurs with a past tense in lively narration, i. e. the historian uses the *now*, which would be used by the persons of whom he is narrating something.

Quid hoc . . . clarius, quam] A pleonastic use, found in three other passages of Cicero. [Ad Att. iv. 8. De Or. i. 69. De Divin. i. 39.]

Ture odoribus] Such instances of *asyndeton* (i. e. omission of the copulative particle) are not unusual in Latin when two substantives form part of a connected whole. So Verr. i. 30, *Spoliatum auxiliis pecunia*. Epist. iii. 8, *Me vultu taciturnitate significasse tibi non esse amicum*.

Liberorum tuorum periculo] Because if Verres were condemned, the heavy fine or damages (*litis æstimatio*) would reduce his family to poverty. (C.)

XXXVI. P. Scipio] *P. Scipio Nasica*, afterwards called *Q. 79 Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio*, in consequence of his adoption by *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*. He was one of the advocates of Verres on this occasion. He was afterwards father-in-law of Pompey, and consul B.C. 52. He committed suicide after the defeat of Thapsus, B.C. 46.

Familie vestre] The plural is used, though he is addressing a single individual, in the sense of "*Scipionum omnium, quorum tu unus es*." So the reading *tuæ*, favoured by Zumpt, seems needless. Orelli, Jordan, and Halm retain *vestre*.

Obstruxit . . . monumento] "Obstructed" the approach to, or the view of, or the light of, as may be.

XXXVII. Vicarius] "As a substitute." (C.)

Hominibus novis] A *novus homo* was the first of his family

who obtained a curule office, as contrasted with the *nobiles*, or descendants of those who had filled curule offices. Cicero himself, as he here implies, was a *novus homo*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 798.] (C.)

Sit apud alios imago, &c.] "Others may boast, and justly boast, of being his descendants." The *imagines*, or figures of distinguished ancestors, were put in the *atrium* of the houses of the *nobiles*, to whom alone the privilege of having these images (*ius imaginum*) belonged.

Est aliqua mea pars virilis] Either (1) "some share of personal responsibility devolves on me," or (2) "I have some individual share in his glory." *Virilis pars* or *portio* is properly a law phrase, "the share that falls to each person in the division of an inheritance." Then it is used more generally, especially in the phrase *pro virili parte*, "according to the measure of one's duty," "as far as one is able." (C.)

- 82 XXXVIII. *Judicium de pecuniis repetundis*] "Trial of a magistrate accused of extortion." The law at this time in force, under which Verres was tried, was the *Lex Cornelia*, passed while Sulla was dictator, B.C. 81. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 986.] (C.)

Cum maxime] "Just now," "at this moment." [Zumpt, § 285.]

Orbi terrarum] "In the whole world." Halm has adopted this reading, on authority of the best MSS., instead of the common reading *in orbe terrarum*. Notice the rare form *orbi* for *orbe*, and the omission of *in*. (C.)

- 83 Dolore] "Indignation." (C.)

- 84 XXXIX. *Apud eos . . . coleretur*] A somewhat irregular use of the pronoun *eos* notwithstanding the subjunctive, instead of the reflective pronoun *se*. [Madvig, § 490, c. Obs. 3. Zumpt, § 550.] (C.)

- 85 Proagoro] See on § 50.

Quam mihi religionem narras] "Don't talk to me of religious scruples." This form of question is always a contemptuous rejection of a plea urged.

Rem defert] *Deferre rem* is simply "to mention the circumstance" to the senate. *Referre rem*, above, is "to lay a matter before the senate for deliberation."

- 86 XL. *Videres*] "you might have seen." On this use of the second person subjunctive, to express something which might have happened to any indefinite person, see Zumpt, § 528. Madvig, §§ 350. 370. (C.)

Leniter accepit] "treated him gently." An use of word found also in Plautus and Terence. (C.)

O. Marcelli] He was prætor B.C. 80, and the next year succeeded Lepidus as proconsul of Sicily. In the Verrine orations Cicero often praises his administration of the province.

Divariçari] "to be set astride." Hardly to be found elsewhere in a classical author. (C.)

- 87 In ære] (1) So Halm, &c., arguing that the rhetorical climax, *in imbri, in frigore*, requires it, and that *in ære* would have no force,

as marble is as cold as bronze. (2) Others read *in ære*, urging that metal is colder than marble, and also that *in aëre* could not mean "in the open air." (C.)

XL.I. Disposita] "in proper order," "methodically." (C.) 88

Est pecuniarum captarum] sc. *crimen*: "it comes under the head of *pecunia capta*."

Peculatus] "embezzlement of public money or property," which is the proper meaning of the English word *peculation*. (C.)

Majestatis] sc. *lesa*, or *minuta*: "high treason." [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 724.] (C.)

Illud vero] = "this," referring to the *coming* clause, *quod in 89 Marcelli statua*.

Jam non quoque dicere] The *jam* marks a *progress* to something greater.

Ex illius honore] "from that statue erected in honour of him." 90 (C.)

Propter] "beside," "near." (C.)

Simul ac successum isti audierunt] "as soon as they heard that his successor had been appointed." *Succeditur* is used here as a *passive impersonal*.

XL.II. Ejus religione te ipsis devinctum] (1) *Ipsis* (i. e. *Sicu- 91 lis*) is a conj. of Halm for unintelligible reading of MSS. *isti*. (2) Zumpt conjectures *istis* (i. e. *Siculis*). (3) Madvig proposes *istic* (i. e. in *subsellio ubi reus sedes*) . . . *videamus*. (C.)

M. Marcello . . Æsernino] He bore this name because his father was compelled by famine to surrender to the Samnites at Æsernia, in the Marsic war, B.C. 90. (C.)

Mihi . . provisa . . est] This use of dative instead of ablative with *ab*, to express the agent after a passive verb, is far more common in poetry than in prose. In good prose authors it is very seldom found, unless (as here) in the tenses formed from perf. part. pass., and then generally (as Madvig expresses it), "to denote that the action exists for the agent as completed." [Madvig, § 250. Zumpt, § 419.] (C.)

Deportavi] "I brought home from the province:" a *vox propria*. 92 So *deduxi testes*. (Cf. *decedere provincia*.) (C.)

Quid? hoc nos dicimus?] The *nos* is here emphatic: "Is it I only who assert this?"

Dixit] Notice the predicate in the *singular*, though the subject consists of the names of two or more *persons*, contrary to the common rule. [Zumpt, § 373. Madvig, § 213.] (C.)

XL.III. Rictum] Here only neuter in classical prose, but the 94 neuter form also occurs twice in Lucretius.

Mentum, &c.] Homer alludes to the Greek custom of touching the chin in supplication. [Il. i. 501.] *Δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὕπ' ἀνθε- πεῶνος ἐλοῖσα Δισσαμένη προσέειπεν*. So Pliny. [N. H. xi. § 251.] "*Antiquis Græcia in supplicando mentum attingere mos erat*."

Gratulationibus] "Thanksgivings" for blessings received.

Nocte intempesta] "in the dead of night," in the part of the night which is not suitable (*tempestivum*) for doing any thing u. (C.)

- Cohorte prætoris**] "the governor's staff," or "body-guard." The words seem to be used in both senses. (C.)
- Fugitivorum**] Lit. "runaway slaves;" here used contemptuously for *servorum*.
- 95 **Inanes**] "Empty handed," as above.
- 96 **XLIV. Facta manu**] "having collected a band of men."
- Æditui**] "the keepers of the temple," "vergers," "sacristans." The older form was *æditimus*, as Varro tells us.
- 97 **Matris magnæ**] i. e. Cybele. But Cicero makes a mistake, for we learn from Diodorus and Plutarch that this temple was dedicated to the *θεαὴ μῆτρει*, the Cretan women who nursed Zeus unknown to his father Cronus. Their worship seems to have been brought from Crete.
- Instrumento**] "utensils," "furniture." (C.)
- 98 **Humanissimus**] "refined," "cultivated," "educated."
- 99 **XLV. Antistites**] A fem. form of *antistes*.
- 100 **Quid esse factum arbitrentur**] *Arbitrari* is the *vox propria* with respect to witnesses, as *videri* with respect to judges. [Pro M. Fonteio, § 19. Acad. ii. § 146.] (C.)
- 102 **Bono auctore**] "A trustworthy authority." (C.)
- 103 **XLVI. Navali copia**] "with naval forces." Though the plural *copia* is far more usual in this signification, still the singular is not unclassical. It occurs five times in two letters of Pompey to Cicero.
- Hæc prædonum multitudine**] Halm calls this a temporal ablative, "while there was this multitude of pirates." (C.)
- Certos homines**] "trustworthy men." (C.)
- Imprudentem**] "in ignorance" of the circumstances. (C.)
- 104 **Servos Venerias**] See on § 32.
- XLVII. Iudicio sociali**] (1) Halm has adopted this conj., "by a trial which relates to the allies." The same phrase occurs ii. § 15. (2) Zumpt retains the obscure reading of MSS, *iudiciali jure*, arguing that the curious phrase is introduced by way of an implied antithesis with the manner in which Verres (as the enemy of gods and men) ought to be treated, i. e. *jure belli*.
- Griminibus . . vocatur!**] "For he is convicted, forsooth, on mere charges, or brought to trial on mere suspicions." Ironical. (C.)
- Earum . . rerum . . infitiandi**] Notice particularly this remarkable, but by no means unfrequent, irregularity, viz., the use of the *genitive* of the gerund with the *genitive* plural of substantives, instead of the accusative, just as if the gerundive were used. [Zumpt, § 661. Madvig, § 413.] (C.)
- 105 **Occurrendum esse**] "that I must obviate." (C.)
- 107 **XLVIII. Directa**] "perpendicular," "steep." (C.)
- 108 **XLIX. Atheniensium sacra**] The Eleusinian mysteries, in honour of Demeter (Ceres) and Persephone (Proserpine). According to the most general tradition, Ceres herself instituted them, when she came to Attica in her wanderings in search of Proserpine. (C.)
- In illo errore**] i. e. in her *well-known* wanderings in pursuit of Proserpine.

Collegio decemvirali] *Decemviri sacris faciundis*, a *collegium*, whose duty it was to take care of the Sibylline books, and to inspect them when needful. Originally, there were only two (called *decemviri*). Afterwards the number was increased to fifteen (called *quindecimviri*), perhaps by Sulla. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 386.]

Non obtundam] "I will not weary you." *Obtundam* is found 109 here only in Cicero without an accusative; but the same absolute construction occurs in Terence and Livy.

Non ita antiqua] "Not so very old." Zumpt says this phrase is to be explained by an ellipsis, e. g., "not so old as you might imagine." [Zumpt, § 730. Madvig, § 462.] (C.)

Triptolemi] who hospitably received Demeter at Eleusis, when 110 she went there in search of her daughter. She gave him wheat, and he spread the knowledge of agriculture over the world. (C.)

Grande simulacrum] The epithet *grande* has perplexed some commentators, and some inferior MSS. omit the word. But we must understand that the *statuette* was large when compared with other little figures thus placed in the hands of colossal statues. (C.)

L. Venit . . mihi fani . . in mentem] The phrase *venit mihi in mentem* is most commonly used thus as an impersonal, and takes a *genitive* as a verb of *remembering*, but it is also used personally with the subject in nominative. [Madvig, § 291. Zumpt, § 440.]

Infalis] "woollen fillets," bound by suppliants round the *verbenæ*, i. e., "branches of laurel, orange, and myrtle." The Greeks called these branches thus bound *στέφανοι*. [Cf. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 3.]

P. Popilio, &c.] B.C. 132, during the first Servile war in Sicily. 112 Rupilius took Tauromenium and Henna, and ended that most alarming rebellion, B.C. 131. (C.)

LI. In judicio adessent] The phrase implies taking an active 113 part in the cause.

Aguntur injuriæ] "are in question." The word *agitur* usually means more precisely "to be at stake," "be in danger." With *injuriæ* it is here used in a more general sense. (C.)

Propter eam causam sceleris] "for that reason," viz. his crime. A *genitivus epezegeticus*, or *genitivus definitivus*, by which a substantive used to *explain* or *define* another, is put into the genitive instead of the case of the word to be explained. *Causa* is frequently used with this *genitivus epezegeticus*. [Zumpt, § 425. Madvig, § 286.] (C.)

Aratorum] Those who cultivated the *ager decumanus*, and 114 paid a tenth of the produce (*decumæ*), as a land-tax, to the *decumanus*, who farmed those tithes. (C.)

LII. Definiam] "end," "put a limit to." A very rare 115 sense. (C.)

Quem ad modum captæ sint, &c.] The contrast is rhetorically exaggerated. See account of the sack of Syracuse in Livy [xxv. 31], and in Plutarch [Vit. Marcell. ch. 19]. (C.)

- 116 Mitte] "I pass over," = *omitto*, as often. (C.)
- 117 Vel terra vel mari] virtually = "both by land and by sea." (C.)
- Amplexu] "circuit." A very questionable conjecture of Classen adopted by Halm in place of *adpectu*, the reading of all the MSS. (C.)
- In exitu] "at the end" of the harbour, i. e. in the part most inland, and most remote from the sea. By the connexion of these harbours a narrow arm of the sea cut off a part of the city, called *Insula*, from the rest of the city and mainland, with which, however, it was connected by a bridge.
- 118 LIII. Ex quattuor urbibus] By Strabo and other writers it is called a *περιπόλις*, the heights of Epipolæ being reckoned as a fifth town. (C.)
- Insula] So the Greeks often called it ἡ νῆσος. Its name was *Ortygia*. It is now a peninsula, being joined to the mainland by a causeway, as it was in the time of Thucydides. Since the Saracens devastated Syracuse, the modern city (*Siracusa*) has been confined to this peninsula. (C.)
- Dianæ una] Hence the island was called *Ortygia*, the poetical name of Delos, the birth-place of Diana. (C.)
- Altera . . Minervæ] Now the cathedral, though it has undergone considerable alterations. (C.)
- In hæc insula extrema] "At the extremity of this island." On the superlative (as *medius*) thus used to denote the *part* of a thing, cf. Madvig, § 311. Zumpt, § 685. The far more usual order is for the adjective to precede, as in *summus mons, vere primo, extremo anno*. (C.)
- Fons, &c.] This famous fountain of Arethusa still exists, but it is much diminished in size, and is very brackish. (C.)
- 119 Prytanium] "town-hall." The *πρυτανεῖον* in Greek states was a public building in which the perpetual fire was kept burning, where ambassadors were entertained, and public meals provided for certain privileged citizens. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANT., *Prytaneum*.] (C.)
- Una via lata perpetua] *Via lata* (opposed to *semita*) is equivalent to a compound substantive: hence it may, as here, receive another attribute. Cf. in § 81, *hominibus novis industriis*, where *hominis novi* takes the attribute *industrii*.
- Qui Temenites vocatur] Probably a name derived from the *τέμενος* or sacred inclosure round his temple, though Stephanus Byzantinus seems to explain it differently: *τέμενος τόπος Σικελίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐπιπόλεις πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας, ὅθι οὐκ ἔτιωρ Τεμενίτης*. (C.)
- 120 LIV. Deportare] "to transport" from his province to Rome, as often. (C.)
- 121 Suburbano] "his suburban villa." (C.)
- Domum suam ornamento urbi futuram] as a memorial of his integrity. (C.)
- 122 LV. Edis] Notice this rarer form of *nominative*, which is found also in Livy. (C.)
- Agathocli] On this genitive from nominative *Agathocles*, see on § 4. (C.)

Profana fecisset] Macrobius tells us that when the Romans were besieging a city, and felt sure that they should take it, it was their custom first *certo carmine evocare tutelares deos*, either as thinking that the city could not otherwise be taken, or as considering it unlawful to keep the gods in captivity. [iii. 9.]

Si Syracusas cepisset] Livy says (xxvii. 25) that the vow of 123 Marcellus was made (not, as Cicero tells us, during the siege of Syracuse, but) during the *Gallic war*, when he was before Clastidium, B.C. 221.

Ornare . . . noluit] But Livy (xiv. 40) tells us, on the contrary, that Marcellus *did* decorate these temples with the spoils of Syracuse. (C.)

Tamen] "at any rate," i. e., great as were their faults.

LVI. *Cupidum*] "passionate," "eager." (C.)

Confirmare] "to affirm," as in § 43, and often in Cicero. (C.) 124

Argumenta] "subjects" represented in a work of art. In the same sense Virgil (*Æn.* vii. 791), *Argumentum ingens et custos virginis Argus*; and Ovid (*Met.* xiii. 684) *longo calaverat argumento*. So Suetonius (*Tib.* 44) of a *painting*,—*si argumento offenderetur*.

Gramineas hastas] "bamboo canes," imported by merchants 125 from the east, and dedicated in the temples on account of their great rarity. So says Pliny (*N. H.* xvi. 65), *Arundini quidem Indica arborea amplitudo, qualem vulgo in templis videmus*. And so Ampelius (*Liber Memorialis*, ch. 8) says of the Minerva at Athens: *Ipsa autem dea habet hastam de gramine*.

In hoc nomine] "at this count in the indictment." Their surprise was caused by this extraordinary instance of the cupidity of Verres; that of taking away a curious, but utterly useless thing.

LVII. *Silanianis*] An Athenian artist, who lived in the time 126 of Alexander the Great, and so was a contemporary of Lysippus. There was a famous bronze statue of a dying Jocasta by him, in which the deadly paleness was represented by mixing silver with the bronze. (C.)

Nimirum] Ironical, as often. (C.)

Ædem Felicitatis] Built by L. Licinius Lucullus to be a memorial of his successes in Spain [B.C. 151, 150]. Strabo says (viii. 381) that he borrowed statues from L. Mummius for the decoration of this temple, and refused to return them after its dedication. Cf. § 4, *Atque ille L. Mummius, cum Therpiadas, quæ ad ædem Felicitatis sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido signa tolleret, &c.* (C.)

Monumentum Catuli] The Temple of *Fortuna hujusce diei*, which he had vowed after his victory in the Cimbric war. (Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiv. § 54. *Plut. Marius*, c. 26.)

Porticum Metelli] Built by Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus to commemorate his victory over the Macedonians. It contained a statue of Cornelia, the daughter of P. Scipio Africanus the Elder, and mother of the Gracchi. (Pliny, *N. H.* 34, § 14.)

Tusculanum] "villa at Tusculum." Many Romans had villas

at Tusculum (now *Frascati*) in consequence of the beauty of the situation. Cicero had one, which gave a name to his *Tusculan Disputations*. Klotz and Halm think there is a reference here to Hortensius, the advocate of Verres, who had a magnificent villa at Tusculum. (C.)

- 127 Epigramma Græcum pernobile] Perhaps that of Plato:

Ἐννέα τὰς μούσας φασὶν τινεὶ ὡς ὀλιγόωρος.

Ἦνιδε καὶ Σαπφὼ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.

Græculus] Used contemptuously, as generally in classical authors. (C.)

Una sustulisset] (1) Zumpt, Jordan, and Halm adopt this conjectural reading, as the reading of MSS. "*non sustulisset*" does not seem to suit the sense of the context. Orelli also thinks the reading of MSS. corrupt. (2) Klotz tries to justify the common reading "*non sustulisset*" as equivalent to "*quod* (epigramma) *iste rudibus homo . . si intellexisset . . certe non sustulisset*" (signum poetriæ). But this explanation does not seem satisfactory. (C.)

- 128 Aristæi] Son of Apollo and Cyrene, who first taught men to keep bees (cf. Virg. Georg. IV. 317, sqq.), and to make oil. Some say that he was a *σύνναος* of Bacchus (i. e., worshipped in the same temple with him) on account of these inventions, as Bacchus also invented the cultivation of the vine. Others consider that it was because he was thought to have been a tutor of Bacchus.

Jovis Imperatoris] Cicero seems to be mistaken in identifying the *Jupiter Imperator* of the Romans with the *Zeus Oἰῆπιος* of the Greeks. Perhaps some resemblance in the representations of the two divinities may have led to such a popular confusion.

Urion] The word *urios* (which is found here only) = *Zeus Oἰῆπιος*, "Zeus who sends favorable winds" (from *οἶπος*, "a fair wind").

Parvum caput]. The best MSS. read *parinum*, which is unintelligible. Various editors read *parvum*, *parium*, *parinum*, *pueri Iacchi*; but none of these emendations is quite satisfactory. (C.)

Ut Græci ferunt, Liberi filius] As Aristæus was the son of Apollo, and is rightly called so by Cicero himself [De Nat. Deor. iii. § 45, *Aristæus, qui olivæ dicitur inventor, Apollinis filius*], the bracketed words are suspicious. Halm suggests that they were originally a gloss, founded on a mistaken notion that by the following words *Liberi patre* (Father Liber), it was meant that Liber was the father of Aristæus. (C.)

- 129 LVIII. Signum illud . . posuerat Flamininus] But Livy tells us (vi. 29) that T. Quinctius *Cincinnatus* brought the statue of Jupiter Imperator from Præneste, B.C. 379, and placed it in the capitol. (1) It seems far the most probable opinion that Cicero has confounded the names of *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* and *T. Quinctius Flamininus*. Very probably the statue had only the inscription *T. Quinctius*. Moreover, it had doubtless perished when the capitol was burnt, B.C. 83, whence Cicero uses the perfect *vidimus*. And both these circumstances may have

made Cicero's mistake more natural. (2) Böckh suggests that there were two distinct statues; which seems highly improbable.

(3) Niebuhr thought that Livy had made the mistake. (C.)

In Ponti ore] On the Thracian Bosphorus.

Tam multa . . . bella] The wars with Mithridates, from which 130 this part of Asia suffered greatly.

Incolæ] See on § 26. (C.)

Sic habetote] "know," "be assured;" a colloquial phrase 131 often occurring in Cicero. (C.)

Quem cum audisset interfectum, permoleste tulisse] = et, quum audisset interfectum, permoleste tulisse. [Madvig, § 402 a. Zumpt, § 603 c.] (C.)

LIX. Mensas Delphicas] Slabs of marble, used as *abaci* or side-boards for the display of plate. They were so called from their resemblance to the Delphic Tripod. (Cf. Martial, xii. 66, *Argentum atque aurum non simplex Delphica portat.*)

Mystagogos] lit. "any one who initiated into mysteries," 132 especially the high-priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, who initiated the *mystæ* [SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 477]: hence, = *μυσταγωγός*, a guide or *Cicerone* to temples and other sacred objects. (C.)

Externæ nationes] See on § 25. (C.)

LX. Apud illos] *Illos* = *Græcos omnes*, who are then *sub-* 134 *divided* into *socii* (i. e. the Athenians, Rhodians, and other *civitates liberae et fœderatæ*), and *vectigales* or *stipendiarii*, which most of the Sicilian towns were. Zumpt, however, omits *apud socios*, as though it were a gloss on *apud illos*, which had crept into the text.

Vectigales aut stipendiarios] "The *stipendiariæ urbes* of the Roman provinces were so denominated, as being subject to the payment of a *fixed money tribute* (*stipendium*), in contradistinction to the *vectigales*, who paid a certain portion, as a tenth or twentieth, of the produce of their lands, their cattle, or customs. But the distinction between the two terms was not always observed." [SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 1071.]

Quid arbitramini . . . merere velle] "What price do you 135 think they would take?" So De Nat. Deor. i. § 67, *Quid enim mereas, ut Epicurius esse desinas?*"

Satyrum] A local hero, who seems to have given his name to the country round Tarentum, and ultimately to a neighbouring town. [See commentators on Virg. Georg. ii. 197, *Saturi . . . Tarenti*: and Hor. Sat. i. 6. 59, *Satureiano . . . caballo.*] (C.)

Cnidios . . . Venerem marmoream] This famous statue was considered the masterpiece of Praxiteles; and Pliny tells us (N. H. 36. 5, § 20) that many made a voyage to Cnidus on purpose to see it; and that when king Nicomedes wished to buy it of the Cnidians, offering to pay off all their heavy public debt, they were willing to endure any thing rather than part with the statue for which their city was renowned. (C.)

Ut pictam, Coos ?] The famous *Venus Anadyomene* (ἡ ἀναδυομένη Ἀποδότην) or "Venus rising from the sea," the most admired picture of Apelles, the greatest Greek painter. It was

painted for the temple of Æsculapius at Cos, and brought to Rome in the time of Augustus, who placed it in the temple of Julius Cæsar. (C.)

Alexandrum] A celebrated portrait, also by Apelles, of Alexander as *κεραυνόφορος*, i. e. "wielding the thunderbolt." Pliny says (H. N. xxxv. § 92) that the fingers seemed to project, and the lightning to stand out of the picture (*digiti eminere videntur, et fulmen extra tabulam esse*). The price paid for it was twenty talents.

Ialysum] A local hero, who gave his name to the city Ialysus in the island of Rhodes. This picture of Ialysus was the masterpiece of Protogenes. Pliny says (N. H. xxxv. 102) that when Demetrius Poliorcetes was besieging Rhodes, he would not set fire to the city on the only side on which it could be taken, for fear of destroying this picture. It is of this painting that the famous story is related of the artist's unsuccessful attempt to paint the foam at the mouth of a dog, and of his flinging the brush in a rage at the picture, by which the desired effect was accidentally produced. (C.)

Paralum] An Attic hero, after whom the Athenian sacred ship (*ἡ Πάραλος*) was said to have been named. There was a tradition, mentioned by Pliny, that he was the first who sailed "*longâ nave*." The same author tells us that Protogenes was the painter of this picture.

Myronis buculam] The cow of Myron was so celebrated, that the Greek Anthology contains thirty-six epigrams upon it. It was represented as lowing, and stood on a marble base in the middle of an open place at Athens. After Cicero's time it was removed to Rome. (C.)

- 136 **LXI. Heraclii hereditatem**] Cicero had previously (ii. 14, seq.) given a detailed account of the iniquitous sentence by which Heraclius, a noble and wealthy Syracusan, had been deprived, not only of a great legacy, but also of his hereditary property, which had been unjustly adjudged to the people of Syracuse, Verres, of course, sharing the plunder. (C.)

Virorumque] Cleomenes and Æschrio, at whose suggestion and by whose instrumentality he had thus cheated Heraclius out of his property. (C.)

- 137 **Carpinatii præclaras tabulas**] Carpinatius was *vice-president* (pro magistro) of the *societas publicanorum*, to whom the *pasture-dues* (scriptura) were let. Among other disgraceful transactions, in which he was the tool of Verres, he entered into a forged deed the name of a *C. Verrucius* (there being really no such person), instead of that of *Verres*. [See ii. 70, seq.]

Præclaras] Ironical, as often. (C.)

Illius Verrucios] "The entries of the name of Verrucius, which had been invented by Carpinatius."

Magistratum] That of *proagorus*.

Sacerdos Jovis] So he says, ii. § 126, *Syracensis lex est de religione, quæ in annos singulos Jovis sacerdotem sortito capi jubeat, quod apud illos amplissimum sacerdotium putatur: cum suffragiis tres ex tribus generibus creati sunt, res revocatur*

ad sortem. We learn from Diodorus (xvi. 70) that this office, which was established by Timoleon (about B.C. 356), after he had driven Dionysius the younger from Syracuse, was most honorable, and that this ἀμφίπολος Διός, as he was called, gave his name to the year. (C.)

Fratre meo] = *fratre patrueli*, "cousin," as in § 25.

LXII. *Timarchidai*] "son of Timarchides." On the genitive 138 in *i*, from a nominative in *es*, see on § 4, *Prasiteli*. (C.)

Palæstritas] "The directors of the *παλαίστρα* or wrestling-school." See the story in ii., ch. 14, seq. (C.)

Inventorem olei deum] sc. *Aristæus*. See on § 123. (C.)

LXIII. *Faucis illis diebus*] "A few days before." So in 140 § 39. (C.)

Ærario sanctiore] The *ærarium sanctius* or "sacred treasury" at Rome, was a special treasure kept as a reserve fund, and never touched except in case of extreme necessity. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANT., p. 23.] Whether the expression has just the same meaning here with respect to Syracuse, we have no means of knowing. (C.)

E lege] (1) Probably "by the terms of the contract" or "agreement;" in which sense *lex* is often used. So Zumpt and Halm take it. (2) Others explain it, "according to the law" on the subject. (C.)

Postea cum . . . appropinquaret] (1) A conjecture of Halm, 141 because the reading of the MSS. and editions, *posteaquam meus aduentus appropinquaret* contains the very doubtful construction of *posteaquam* joined with the imperfect subjunctive. [Cf. Zumpt, § 507 b. Madvig, § 338 b.] (2) But Zumpt defends the common reading, on the ground that the subjunctive is caused by the *oratio obliqua*, a not very satisfactory explanation of the difficulty. (C.)

Adeo] "And more," "farther." In this sense Cicero puts *adeo* always after a pronoun. [Cf. Zumpt, § 281.] (C.)

LXIV. *Sex. Peducaeo*] He was prætor in Sicily in the 142 years B.C. 76, 75; in the latter of which years Cicero was quæstor under him. (C.)

Quod verba facta sunt] This was the usual form in drawing up the preamble of a Roman *senatus consultum*: the decree itself opened with the words, *de ea re ita censuerunt*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANT., p. 1023.] Halm suggests that Cicero has possibly transferred the usual Roman form to the resolution of the Syracusan senate. (C.)

Nudus . . . nudata] Notice a play on words, such as Cicero delights in. (C.)

Ejus modi senatus consultum fecisse laudationis] This 144 reading of all the best MSS. is very suspicious, partly on account of the omission of *se*, partly because of the awkwardness of the double genitive *senatus consultum laudationis*. Hence there are various conjectural emendations. (1) Halm suggests *hujusmodi se consultum fecisse laudationis*. (2) Zumpt conjectures *ejusmodi senatus consultum fuisse laudationis*. (3) Örelli writes, *hujusmodi*

senatum consulto fecisse laudationem, taking *consulto* in the sense of "on purpose." (C.)

Commonefaceret . . . præturam] A solitary instance of an accusative of the thing, expressed by a real substantive, occurring with *commonefacio*. Hence some suspect the genuineness of this reading of all the MSS. [Cf. Zumpt, § 440. Madvig, § 291.] (C.)

Hoc . . . desineret] Halm expresses a doubt respecting the genuineness of this clause, which he thinks either a marginal gloss, or a clause transferred from elsewhere. Madvig also questions its genuineness. (C.)

- 145 LXV. *Cum Lucio fratre hospitium publice fieret*] "That my cousin Lucius should be made a *hospes publicus* of Syracuse." [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES, p. 621.] Halm observes that this honour had been already conferred on Cicero himself during his Sicilian quaestorship. (C.)

- 146 *In eo*] "In respect to that matter." [Cf. *in quo*, § 149.]

Discessio facta esset] "A division took place." *Discessio* and *discedere* are words in common use with respect to the proceedings of the Roman Senate. (C.)

Prætor appellatur] i. e. Lucius Metellus, who succeeded Verres as Prætor of Sicily, B.C. 70, and took his part. He was appealed to on this occasion to prevent the *laudatio* from being taken away from Verres.

- 147 LXVI. *L. Lucullum*] The father of the luxurious conqueror of Mithridates. He was prosecuted for peculation by Q. Servilius the augur, and condemned.

Tabellas . . . commendaticias] "Letters of recommendation," "letters of introduction." A rare word. (C.)

- 148 *Tabellas tributarias*] "Letters which brought in tribute to Metellus," i. e. which promised him presents.

Ne . . . putetis] "Which I mention, that you may not think." As in § 52, *Ne quem putetis*, &c. (C.)

Theomnastus quidam] The *quidam* is used contemptuously. In fact, he held the very high office of *Sacerdos Jovis*, which he obtained through the fraudulent help of Verres. [Cf. II. c. 101.]

Theoractum] i. e. *θεορᾶν*, "struck with madness by God." Perhaps this feeble joke is Cicero's own, though he ascribes it to the Syracusans.

- 149 *Negare . . . appellatus esset*] "To declare that that was not to be considered a *proper* decree of the senate, in respect to which an appeal was made to the Prætor."

Legem recitare] The *Lex Cornelia de Repetundis*, which empowered Cicero to collect evidence. *Legis* below refers to the same law. (C.)

Sanctionem] The "penalty" it enacts against those who transgress it, which gives it its authority: so nearly = *pæna*.

- 151 LXVII. *Syracusanam quidem civitatem*] On this use of *quidem*, see note on § 72. (C.)

Celeberrimum] "Much frequented," "kept by multitudes." (C.)

FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

INTRODUCTION.

L. SERGIUS CATILINA, one of the monsters of history, belonged to an impoverished patrician family. He was possessed of extraordinary mental and physical powers, and exercised a remarkable influence over all who came in contact with him. After a youth stained by profligacy and crime, he became notorious through his cruelty during the proscription of Sylla, of whom he was an unscrupulous adherent. At that time, in addition to other charges against him, it was said that he murdered his own brother, and then sheltered himself from punishment by putting his name on the Proscription List. He was also accused of having seduced a Vestal Virgin, and was suspected of having murdered a grown-up son, in order to marry a profligate woman, who had refused him till his son was got rid of. But, notwithstanding his infamous character, he was elected Prætor, B.C. 68, and the following year was made Proprætor of Africa, whence he returned to Rome, B.C. 66, to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship. But he was obliged to abandon his intention in consequence of an impeachment for oppression in his province, which was brought against him by the notorious P. Clodius Pulcher, and which disqualified him for becoming a candidate. Enraged at this disappointment, he determined to force his way to power by violent and bloody measures, the success of which was only rendered not utterly hopeless by the terrible corruption of the times, the state of general disorder and anarchy, and the desperate temper of a multitude of insolvent nobles. Accordingly he took into his counsels P. Autronius Pætus, who had been elected consul for B.C. 65, with P. Cornelius Sulla, though they had afterwards been convicted of bribery, and their election declared void. With this Autronius, together with Cn. Piso, a dissolute and turbulent young patrician, Catiline formed a conspiracy to murder the new consuls on the 1st of January, the day of their entrance on office, and to seize the chief power. It is said that the plan failed only through the impatience of Catiline, who gave the signal before his armed supporters assembled in sufficient numbers. No attempt, however, was made to punish the conspirators, and soon after Catiline was acquitted on his trial for extortion, owing (as it would appear) to bribery of his prosecutor Clodius and of the judges. In the year B.C. 64 Catiline renewed his wild schemes, and engaged his fellow-conspirators, as a preliminary step, to secure his election as consul for B.C. 63. In this object, however, he failed, and Cicero and Antonius were elected, as the nobility were induced by their fears of Catiline to waive their objections

to Cicero, whom they disliked as a *novus homo*. This fresh disappointment only rendered Catiline more determined on carrying out his revolutionary schemes. He began to collect stores of arms and money, which he sent to Fæsulæ in Etruria. Cicero meanwhile set himself to oppose the designs of Catiline, and succeeded in gaining over his colleague Antonius, who had been favorably disposed to Catiline, by promising him the lucrative province of Macedonia, which had fallen by lot to Cicero. In the latter part of this year Catiline came forward a third time as a candidate for the consulship. But in the mean time Cicero had become acquainted with the designs of the conspirators through Fulvia, the mistress of Curius, one of Catiline's chief friends. At length he laid his information before the senate, and a decree was passed *Darent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*. Soon after the consular comitia followed, and Catiline was once more disappointed. A few days later, on the night of November the 6th, Catiline assembled his friends at the house of M. Porcius Læca, and it was settled to proceed at once to action. First of all Cicero was to be assassinated at his own house, and L. Vargunteius and C. Cornelius offered themselves for the work. But Cicero was informed of these resolutions through Fulvia, and therefore summoned the senate to meet on the 8th of November in the temple of Jupiter Stator. He then delivered his *First Oration against Catiline*. Catiline, who was present, attempted to defend himself, but he was silenced by the shouts of execration which burst forth from the whole senate. Finding that he could do nothing at Rome, he left the city the same night, and betook himself to the camp of Manlius at Fæsulæ, leaving it to P. Lentulus Sura, Prætor Urbanus, and C. Cethegus, to carry out his plans at Rome. On the morning of the 9th, when the flight of Catiline was known, Cicero assembled the people in the forum, and delivered his *Second Oration against Catiline*. On the news of Catiline's arrival at the camp of Manlius, the senate made a decree, declaring him a public enemy. At first Cicero found it difficult to get legal evidence of the conspiracy; but at last he succeeded in obtaining it through some ambassadors of the Allobroges, with whom Lentulus had been tampering. At first they were disposed to listen to his proposals that they should join the plot, but after some hesitation they disclosed the matter to Q. Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state, who informed Cicero. Cicero instructed the ambassadors to pretend that they were favorably disposed to the conspiracy, and to obtain letters signed by the chief conspirators, to take home to their fellow-countrymen. Having received these papers, they left Rome on the night of the 3rd of December, but were arrested by the Prætors on the Mulvian bridge. Cicero immediately sent for Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other chief conspirators to his house, whence he took them to the Temple of Concord, where the Senate was assembled. They were at once convicted by the evidence of the Allobroges, by their handwriting, and by their own confession, and were intrusted to the charge of certain senators. Cicero then went to the Forum,

and related all the circumstances to the people, in his *Third Oration against Catiline*, a speech which turned the current of public opinion very strongly against Catiline, and in favour of Cicero. On the 5th of December the Senate was summoned to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators. A long and eager debate ensued, in which C. Julius Caesar, who was Prætor elect, spoke impressively in favour of perpetual imprisonment, as doubting the power of the Senate to inflict the punishment of death on men who had not been tried. But Cicero, in his *Fourth Oration against Catiline*, spoke very strongly in favour of capital punishment. He was followed by a vehement speech of Cato on the same side, and the Senate finally passed a decree that the conspirators should be put to death. Cicero accordingly took them to the *Tullianum*, or Public Prison, where they were executed the same night, to the great joy of the people. Shortly after (early in B.C. 62) Catiline was defeated by the army of the Consul Antonius, and fell in battle, fighting, as the saying is, with a courage worthy of a better cause.

The story of this remarkable episode in Roman history has been told with singular vigour and eloquence in the *Catilina* of Sallust.

I. Tandem] "Pray." Used with an *emphatic* force in questions, like *vêre*. Both words are so used as containing the idea of *impatience*. (C.)

Abutere . . . *patientia nostra*?] viz., by appearing in his place as Senator on this occasion. (C.)

Quam diu etiam] "How long still." So § 10, *vixdum etiam*. (C.)

Eludet?] "Mock us," "make sport of us." (C.)

Quem ad finem] "Till when?" "how long?" = *quamdiu*? So Verr. v. 75, *Piratarum vivum tenuisti. Quem ad finem? Dum cum imperio fuisti.*

Nocturnum præsidium Palatii] *Palatium* = *Mons Palatinus*. Sallust says that watches were posted all about the city: *Decreveres uti . . . Romæ per totam urbem vigilia haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent.* [Sall. Cat. ch. 30.]

Timor populi] Cf. Sall. Cat. ch. 31: *Repente omnes tristitia invasit . . . suo quisque metu pericula metiri, &c.*

Munitissimus . . . locus] The temple of Jupiter Stator, on the northern slope of the Palatine Hill. Probably the Senate met in this unusual place, because the Palatine was occupied by an armed force. Cf. § 21: *Equites Romani . . . ceterique fortissimi cives qui circumstant senatum, &c.* (C.)

Horum ora vultusque] All the senators rose up and left the bench on which Catiline seated himself.

Proxima . . . superiore] *Proxima nocte*, "last night," i.e. the night between Nov. 7th and Nov. 8th. *Superiore nocte*, "the night before last," i.e. the night between Nov. 6th and Nov. 7th, when the meeting of the conspirators at the house of Læca took place. (C.)

Immo vero] "Nay rather," "nay even." It is used to correct 2

a previous statement by putting something *stronger*. [Zumpt, § 277. Madvig, § 454.] (C.)

3 P. Scipio] Nasica.

Ti. Gracchum] In his capacity as *tribunus plebis* he succeeded in reimposing, with alterations, the Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo. He was slain in a tumult, which was headed by P. Scipio Nasica, B.C. 133. It may be well to remind younger students that modern historians are not at all disposed to agree with Cicero in his implied praise of the lawless and violent conduct of Scipio. The popular indignation against him as the virtual murderer of Gracchus ran so high, that he was obliged to leave Rome. (C.)

Privatus] He was *Pontifex Maximus*; but that office was not a *Magistratus*. (C.)

Servilius Ahala, &c.] Spurius Mælius was a Roman knight, who, when the Roman people were suffering from famine, distributed corn to them at his own expense. Having thus gained great popularity, he was suspected of having formed a conspiracy to raise himself to kingly power. He was summoned to appear before Cincinnatus, who had been appointed dictator, and on his refusal, he was slain by C. Servilius Ahala, who was master of the horse to the dictator. Here again it should be observed, that modern historians express much doubt respecting the alleged treasonable designs of Sp. Mælius; and that Ahala, like Mælius, was obliged to leave Rome through the popular indignation which was excited by his act. (C.)

Habemus senatus consultum in te] The decree passed Oct. 21, which gave the consuls full power to provide for the safety of the state, in the formula, *videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*. (C.)

4 II. L. Opimius] When C. Gracchus, and M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, and who had been honoured with a triumph, were summoned to appear before the senate, they refused, and occupied the Aventine, posting themselves at the temple of Diana. Twice they sent the younger son of Fulvius to make terms; but the second time Opimius caused him to be seized, and advanced to the attack. The insurgents fled: Fulvius, with his eldest son, was slain; Gracchus prevailed on his slave to despatch him. The younger son of Fulvius, who had been seized, was allowed to choose the manner of his own death. These events occurred B.C. 121.

Clarissimo patre] His father, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, had been twice consul and censor, and had twice triumphed for victories over the Calabrians and Sardinians.

Avo] His grandfather, on the mother's side, was P. Scipio Africanus Major, one of the greatest names in Roman history. (C.)

L. Saturninus, &c.] When L. Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia surrendered to Marius, he tried to save their lives, as they were his own friends and partisans. Accordingly, he placed them for security in the *Curia Hostilia*, insisting on a regular trial; but the mob broke in and killed them, B.C. 100.

Rei publicæ pœna] "The punishment decreed by the state."
(C.)

Remorata est] "kept them waiting." (C.)

Vicesimum . . . diem] From the 21st of October to the 8th of November was a period of eighteen days, as *we* should reckon, or of nineteen days according to the inclusive reckoning, which the Romans often followed. (1) Some think that Cicero speaks in round numbers. (2) Others suppose that he counts the kalends *twice over*, so as to make twelve days in October and eight in November. (C.)

Dissolutum] "lax," "remiss." (C.)

In Etruriæ faucibus] The camp of Mallius, at Fæsulæ (now *Fiesole*), a city of Etruria, at the foot of the Apennines. Perhaps it was selected by Catiline, because Sulla had sent a military colony there. (C.)

Atque adeo] "nay more," "nay even."

Credo] Ironical, as often.

Factum esse oportuit] Notice the use of the *perfect* inf., like our English idiom, "ought to have been done." [Madvig, § 407, obs. 1.] (C.)

Quam diu quisquam] *Quisquam* and *ullus*, though usually found in sentences which are formally or virtually *negative*, are sometimes (as here) used in *conditional* and *relative* propositions, to signify "any one," "some one," when it is wished to make the *indefiniteness* emphatic. [Madvig, § 494, b. Zumpt, § 709, b.] (C.)

III. Ante diem] Cicero and Livy prefer this peculiar grammatical form of stating the day of the month, to the more correct form, *die duodecimo ante*, etc. The construction has never been satisfactorily explained. (1) Zumpt says [§ 868] we must suppose that *ante* changed its place, and that afterwards the ablative was changed into the accusative, as if it were dependent on *ante*, while the real accus. *calendas* remained unchanged. (2) Madvig [sup. I.] observes that the expression appears properly to signify *before (on the twelfth day) the calends*. Notice below in *ante diem*, etc., where the expression is considered as a single word, and governed by *in*; so sometimes it is governed by *ex*, and yet remains unchanged. (C.)

Contulisse] Either (1) "put off," "reserved," or (2) "fixed for."

Sui conservandi] A remarkable but not infrequent construction. [Zumpt, § 660. Madvig, § 417.] (C.)

Discessu ceterorum] = *quum ceteri discessissent*. An use of the verbal substantive (as Halm observes) instead of an ablative absolute, to supply the defective past participle.

Præneste] A town of Latium (now *Palestrina*), about twenty miles S.E. of Rome. Being very strongly fortified, it was well suited for Catiline's purposes.

Sensistine] = *nonne sensisti?* *Ne* often gives this *affirmative* meaning to a question, expecting the answer "yes." [Zumpt, § 352. Madvig, § 451, a.] (C.)

Quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam] (1) A conjecture of Halm in place of the common reading *quod ego*

non modo audiam, which does not afford any intelligible meaning. (2) Madvig conjectures *quin ego non modo audiam*, etc., of which Orelli approves. Either of these conjectures gives the same sense, "you do nothing which I do not, not only hear, but also see." (C.)

IV. *Noctem illam superiorem*] "the night before last." See on § 1. (C.)

Inter falcarios] "In the street of the scythe-makers." So in Livy (xxxv. 41) we find *inter lignarios* of a place in Rome.

- 9 *Descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia*] Statilius and Gabinus were to set fire to the city in twelve places. [Sall. Cat., 48.] (C.)

Confirmasti] "asserted," "declared," as often. (C.)

Duo equites Romani] C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius. They were to go to Cicero's house as if with the object of paying their respects to him. [Sall. Cat., ch. 28.]

- 10 *Hæc ego . . . comperi*] By means of Curius and Fulvia. [Sall. Cat., ch. 28.]

Id temporis] = *eo tempore*. So we find *id ætatis* = *ea ætate*, and in Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 16) even *id auctoritatis* = *ea auctoritate*. [Zumpt, § 459. Madvig, § 238.]

- 11 *V. Huic ipsi Jovi Statori*] In whose temple the senate was assembled on this occasion. (C.)

Antiquissimo custodi, etc.] Because his temple was dedicated by Romulus, who vowed it in battle during the Sabine war. [Livy I. 12.] (C.)

Consuli designato] "consul elect." In Cicero's time the consuls were elected in July, or thereabouts, but did not enter on office till the first of January in the following year. [SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 353.] (C.)

Proximis comitiis consularibus] When D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena were elected, and Catiline was rejected.

- 12 *Quod hujus imperii . . . proprium est*] i. e., the extraordinary power with which Cicero was invested by the *senatusconsultum*.

—Darent operam consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.
Ad severitatem] = *quod attinet ad servitutem, si spectes servitutem*. Probably the two constructions with *ad* are used to make the *antithesis* more complete.

Tuorum comitum . . . sentina rei publicæ] Observe the two genitives dependent in different senses on the same substantive, *sentina*. Halm remarks that *sentina rei publicæ* must be taken as one idea.

- 13 *Faciebas*] = *facere volebas*.

VI. *Nota domesticæ turpitudinis*] Related to his immoral domestic life, while *privatarum rerum dedecus* is used in a wider sense, with reference to his private actions, as opposed to his public character.

Hæret in fama] (1) So Madvig, Halm, and others, instead of the common reading, *hæret infamias*. (2) But some defend the old reading, arguing that *hæreo* is found with a dative in one other passage of Cicero [*potest huic homini hoc hære peccatum*? Pro Rosc. Com., 6. 17], and that *infamias* is used instead

of *fame*, as a strong rhetorical turn, by which it is at once assumed that Catiline's *infamy* was *notorious*.

Facem præstulisti] "Showed him the way," as a slave lighted his master home with a torch. Halm thinks the figurative expression may also allude to his *inflaming* their passions. (C.)

Morte . . . vacuefecisses] Cicero is the only author who 14 mentions this report of Catiline having murdered his wife. (C.)

Alio incredibili scelere] When he wished to marry one Aurelia Orestilla, a handsome woman of bad character, and she was afraid to accept him, because he had a grown-up son, he murdered the young man, to remove the obstacle to his marriage. (Sall. Cat., ch. 15.)

Proximis Idibus] (1) Most commentators remark that it was usual to pay the interest on loans, or to repay the principal, on the *Ides* of the month. Cf. Horace (Epode ii. 69);—

*Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;
Quærit Kalendis ponere.*

So Cicero (Ad Att. xiv. 20), *Jam vel sibi habeat nummos, modo numeret Idibus*, and (Ad Att. x. 5), *Diem pecunia Idus Novembres esse*.

(2) As, however, the *Kalends*, or first day of the month, was the *usual* day for paying interest or repaying a loan, Halm understands Cicero to mean that *notice would be given* to Catiline on the *Ides*, that he must repay all loans on the ensuing *Kalends*. (C.)

Difficultatem] "Pecuniary difficulties," "distressed circumstances." (C.)

Hujus cæli spiritus] "To breathe this air." (C.)

Pridie Kalendas, &c.] In B.C. 66 (in which year Lepidus and Tullus were consuls), Catiline, Autronius, and Piso formed a plan to murder the consuls elect, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus, in the Capitol, on Jan. 1st, the day on which they were to enter on office. The plan failed, and was deferred to Feb. 5th; but Catiline gave the signal before his armed adherents had assembled in sufficient numbers, and hence the design proved again unsuccessful. (Cf. Sall. Cat., ch. 18.) (C.)

In comitio] A part of the Forum in which the Comitia were held. The word has always this local sense in the singular. (C.)

Non mentem aliquam] "No reflection or intention of yours." Notice the use of *aliquis* in a *negative* sentence [Madvig, § 494 a. Obs. 1.]

Petitiones] "Thrusts," "passes," a term of the fencing-school. Cicero uses the word again in the same sense, also *petere*. (De Orat. § 228.)

Ut aiunt, corpore effugi] This *proverbial* expression (*ut aiunt*) is differently explained. (1) Halm renders it, "had a hair-breadth escape." (2) Others, "escaped it by bending on one

side," considering the phrase to be equivalent to *parvâ quiddam declinatione*. (C.)

- 16 **Devota sit**] To be dedicated to some god after the murder. Cf. Justin (ix. 7), *Olympias gladium, quo rex percussus est, Apollini sub nomine Myrtales consecravit*. Suetonius (Cal. 24), *Tres gladios in necem suam præparatos Marti ultori, addito elogio, consecravit*.

VII. **Si hoc . . . contigit nemini**] Observe that *contigit* is not confined to *desirable* occurrences.

Tibi . . . constituti fuerunt] Halm observes that *constitutus est* is often followed by the dative, instead of the ablative with *ab*. (C.)

- 17 **Offensum**] "offensive," "odious."

- 18 **Multorum civium neces**] A reference to his savage cruelty at the time of Sulla's proscription, when he murdered his own brother, his brother-in-law, Q. Cæcilius, a quiet and harmless old man, M. Marius Gratidianus, whom he put to death by torture, and a number of Roman knights. (C.)

Vexatio direptioque sociorum] i.e. during his administration of his province of Africa, of which he was Proprætor, B.C. 67. On his return he was impeached for extortion by P. Clodius, afterwards the enemy of Cicero, but was acquitted through the unfairness of his judges.

Questiones] "criminal trials." (C.)

Quidquid inerepuerit] "whatever rumour or noise there may be." (C.)

- 19 **Abhorreat**] "is not connected with." (C.)

VIII. **Te ipse in custodiam dedisti**] This was termed *libera custodia*, when the persons accused were placed under the care of the magistrates in their private houses, instead of being put in prison. [Cf. Sall. Cat. ch. 47.]

Ad M. Lepidum] "at the house of Manius Lepidus," one of the consuls, B.C. 66. A rare use of *ad* = *apud*. It occurs again (Verr. I. § 22), *ex his decem fiscos ad senatorem illum relictos esse*. In the present passage most MSS. read *apud*; but one of the best has *ad*, which reading is confirmed by the evidence of the grammarians. (C.)

Q. Metellum] afterwards consul, B.C. 60. As soon as news arrived that Manlius had occupied Fæsulæ, he was sent into Picenum to act against the conspirators (Sall. Cat. ch. 30), many of whom he seized and imprisoned (Sall. Cat. ch. 42). He took up a position at the foot of the Apennines, which cut off the retreat of Catiline, and compelled him to fight Antonius. (Sall. Cat. ch. 58.) (C.)

Virum optimum] Ironical. Quintilian quotes the words as an instance of irony.

M. Metellum] (1) So Halm, on the authority of Quintilian and of three MSS. of Cicero. (2) Most of the MSS. and editions read *M. Marcellum*. If this latter reading be correct, we must be careful to distinguish this M. Marcellus from the M. Marcellus of whom he speaks below in terms of praise. (C.)

Videlicet] "forsooth;" ironical, as often. (C.)

P. Sestio] He was at this time Quæstor of C. Antonius, the 21 colleague of Cicero. In B.C. 57 he was Tribune of the Plebs, and took an active part in procuring Cicero's recall from banishment. In B.C. 56 he was accused *de vi*, for his violent conduct during his tribunate, and successfully defended by Cicero in his extant *Oratio pro P. Sestio*. (C.)

M. Marcello] He was consul B.C. 51, and a bitter opponent of Cæsar. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar yielded to the entreaties of the relations and friends of Marcellus, and forgave him his opposition, for which act of grace Cicero returned thanks to Cæsar in the senate in the extant *Oratio pro M. Marcello*. (C.)

Exaudire] "to hear plainly," "to hear at a distance." (C.)

Usque ad portas prosequantur] It was the custom of relations and friends thus to escort a voluntary exile to the gates of the city. (Cf. Hor., Odes, iii. 5. 47.) (C.)

IX. Te ut ulla res frangat] "as if any thing could move 22 you!" The subjunctive with *ut* is often thus used in an indignant question. It seems to be an elliptical construction, in which *ferine potest*, or the like, should be supplied. We also find the accusative with *ne* and the infinitive used in the same sense. [Zumpt, § 609. Madvig, § 353, *obs.*] (C.)

Dunt] = *dent*. This form is also found in Terence and Tacitus. It is mostly used in prayers and imprecations. So *edim* for *edam* (from *edo*, "to eat") occurs constantly in Plautus, twice in Horace, and once even in Cicero. Compare the ordinary forms, *velim*, *nolim*, *malim*, *sim*. [Zumpt, § 162. Madvig, § 115, d.] (C.)

Sed est tanti] "it is worth while," i. e. to have such a storm of unpopularity threaten me, provided the State does not suffer. (C.)

Sermones hominum] i. e. "their censure." So Verr. iv. 7. 3, 23 *Nunquam commisisset, ut propter eum in sermonem hominum atque in tantam vituperationem veniret*. Pro Cæl. xvi. 38, *Sermones iniquorum effugere non potuit*.

Forum Aurelium] A little town in Etruria, on the *Via Aurelia*, now, according to some, *Monte Alto*.

Aquilam illam argenteam] We learn from Sallust (Cat. ch. 59) that it was the eagle which Marius was said to have had with him in the Cimbric War.

Sacrarium scelerum tuorum] "a sanctuary of your crimes." But the harshness of the expression has led to the conjecture that *scelerum tuorum* is spurious. The Romans considered the place near the Prætorium where the eagles were kept to be sacred. (C.)

A cujus altaribus] "from whose altar." The word is only used in the plural in classical authors. (C.)

X. Meditati . . . sunt] "were practised." The perfect participle of *meditor*, as of many other deponents, is often used in a passive sense. [Zumpt, § 632. Madvig, § 153.] (C.)

Qui feruntur] "which are talked of."

Ad obseidendum stuprum] "to be on the look out for an opportunity of debauchery."

Illam tuam præclaram, &c.] Sallust also (Cat., ch. 5) mentions this. *Corpus patiens inedia, vigilia, algoris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est.*

- 27 *Cum te a consulatu reppuli*] (1) Some understand Cicero to refer to the last election, a few days before, when Silanus and Murena were elected. (2) Others suppose he is alluding to the previous year (B.C. 64), when Cicero and Antony were elected.

XI. *Detester*] “deprecate,” “avert.” (C.)

Evocatorem servorum] “he who calls the slaves to arms.” Catiline appears to have thought originally of stirring up the slaves in Rome. (Sall. Cat. ch. 24.) But after Catiline’s departure from Rome, though Lentulus intreated him to make use of the slaves (Sall. Cat. ch. 44), he altogether declined their help, although multitudes flocked to him. (Sall. Cat. ch. 56.) (C.)

- 28 *An leges, &c.*] That a Roman citizen should not be scourged or put to death, was enacted, with some differences of detail. (1) by the *Leges Valeria*, B.C. 509, B.C. 449, B.C. 300; (2) by the *Leges Porcia*; (3) by the *Lex Sempronia*, proposed by C. Gracchus, B.C. 123. (C.)

Hominem per te cognitum] i.e. *non per majores*. In other words he was a *novus homo*.

Tam mature ad summum imperium] he says elsewhere (de lege Agr. ii. c. 2), that he was the only *novus homo* who had been elected consul as soon as he was eligible in point of age. (C.)

- 29 XII. *Gladiator*] used merely as a term of contempt, as elsewhere in Cicero. (C.)

- 30 *Si in hunc animadvertissem*] “if I had punished him.” In this sense *animadvertere* generally takes the preposition *in*. So in English to *animadvert on* = to *blame*. (C.)

Regie] “tyrannically.” So (Verr. iii. § 115) *regie seu potius tyrannice*. (C.)

- 31 XIII. *Jam diu*] the whole three years from the consulate of Lepidus and Tullus.

Nescio quo pacto] This phrase is used with reference to things which *one would wish had not been done*.

- 32 *Prætoris Urbani*] L. Valerius Flaccus.

Malleolos] “fire-darts,” a kind of missile used in sieges to set fire to places. [Cf. SMITH’S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 726.]

- 33 *Tu, Jupiter*] He addresses the statue in the temple of Jupiter Stator. (See on § 5.)

Idem . . . auspiciis . . . constitutus] This is, as Halm observes, a rhetorical exaggeration, for though Romulus *vowed* the temple in the Sabine war (Livy i. 12), it was not actually built till B.C. 294. (Livy x. 37.) (C.)

Statorem hujus urbis, &c.] Originally by *Jupiter Stator* was meant “Jove, the stay of flight.” (Cf. *deme terrorem Romanis, fugam sedam siste*; *hic ego tibi templum, statori Jovi*, . . . *voco*, Livy i. 12.) But Cicero here uses the title in a somewhat different sense, as “the supporter, defender of the state.” (C.)

SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

I. *Scelus anhelantem*] "panting for crime." So Auct. ad 1 Herenn. (iv. 55), *At is spumans ex ore scelus, anhelans ex intimo pectore crudelitatem.*

Ferro flammaque minitantem] So Halm, Madvig, &c., after some of the best MSS., instead of the old reading, *ferrum flammamque*. Though *minitari* takes an accusative of the evil threatened, e. g., *minitari malum alicui, minitari fratri mortem*, it takes an ablative of the instrument with which a man threatens. So Cic. Phil. xi. § 37, *Huic urbi ferro ignique minitantur*. Phil. xiii. § 47, *Patriæ igni ferroque minitantur*. Sall. Cat. ch. 49, *Cæsari gladio minitarentur*. [Madvig, § 242, obs. 1.]

Vel . . . vel . . . vel] *Vel* gives the hearer the choice of whichever word he considers most suitable. (C.)

Ipsum egredientem] = *sponte sua*, "of himself," "of his own accord."

Verbis prosecuti sumus] "we have accompanied him with our words." A reference to the closing words of the First Oration: *Hicce ominibus . . . cum tua peste ac pernicie . . . proficiscere, &c.*

Sine controversia] "without doubt," "beyond dispute."

Loco ille motus est] "he was moved from his favourable position." (C.)

II. *Hujus imperii severitas*] See on Orat. I. § 12. (C.) 3

Deferrem] "laid before the senate." (C.)

Parum comitatus] Sallust says (ch. 32) that Catiline left 4 Rome at dead of night for the camp of Manlius "*cum paucis*." According to Plutarch (Cicero, ch. 16) he was accompanied by 300 armed men. (C.)

Tongilium . . . Publicium . . . Munatium] Nothing is known of these names. Perhaps Cicero purposely mentions them as men of no note.

Mihi eduxit] An instance of the *dativus ethicus*, or use of the dative of personal pronouns, to imply the concern or feeling of the speaker, or the person addressed. [Zumpt, § 408; Madvig, § 248.] (C.)

In prætexta] = *prætextatum*, while he was a youth, and wore the *toga prætexta*, before he assumed the *toga virilis*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 1137.]

III. *Præ Gallicanis legionibus*] (1) so Halm, after a conjecture of Lambinus, instead of the unintelligible reading of MSS. *ex Gallicanis legionibus*. Translate "as compared with," &c. (2) Most editions read "*et Gallicanis legionibus*," &c., after Muretus, explaining the construction as an ablative absolute, "since we have the legions," &c. By *Gallicanis legionibus* are meant Roman legions serving in Gallia Cisalpina. (C.)

In agro . . . Gallico] The district north of Picenum, lying between Umbria and the coast of the Adriatic, named after the

Galli Senones, who had once occupied it. It contained the cities Sena Gallica, Pisaurum, Ariminum, and Ravenna. (C.)

Hoc delectu, quem . . . Q. Metellus habuit] We learn from Sallust (Cat. ch. 30) that Q. Metellus Celer, the prætor, was despatched by the senate into the Picenian territory, to raise an army proportioned to the emergency and danger. (Cf. Pro Sulla, § 53, *Agrum Camertem, Picenum, Gallicum maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat.*)

Ex senibus desperatis] The veterans of Sulla, of whom he speaks again, § 20. (Cf. Sall. Cat. ch. 16.) (C.)

Ex agresti luxuria] The abstract for the concrete. (C.)

Decoctoribus] "bankrupts." So Cicero (Phil. II. § 44) uses *decoquere* (lit., "to boil down," "to waste") in the sense "to become bankrupt." (C.)

Vadimonia deserere] "to forfeit their recognizance" by failing to appear in court at the appointed time. (C.)

Edictum prætoris] A body of rules issued by the prætor when he entered on office, in accordance with which he administered justice during his term of office. [On this important subject cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES, § 444.] (C.)

- 6 Cui sit Apulia attributa, &c.] So Sallust says (Cat. ch. 27) that Catiline sent Manlius to Fæsulæ, and that part of Etruria, one Septimius Camers to the Picenian territory, C. Julius to Apulia.

Insidias cædis] This was assigned to Cethegus and others. (Sall. Cat. ch. 43.)

Incendiorum] This was to be the task of Statilius and Gabinus. (Sall. Cat., ch. 43.)

Superioris noctis] See on First Oration, § 1.

Ne] So Halm writes the word, on the authority of MSS., instead of the more usual mode of spelling, —*næ*. (C.)

IV. Nisi vero si quis est] This use of *si* after *nisi* is rare in Cicero. *Nisi* is then used as an adverb, "except." (C.)

Aurelia via] The great road from Rome along the west coast of Etruria to Pisa (now *Pisa*). It was afterwards continued through Genoa (now *Genoa*) to Forum Julii (now *Frejus*) in Gaul. (Cf. Phil. xii. § 22, *tres viæ sunt ad Mutinam, a superno Mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.*)

- 7 Catilina exhausto] "Catiline having been taken out of the state." The word carries on the metaphor contained in *sentinam*. (C.)

Testamentorum subjeor] "forger of wills." In the same sense are used *subjicere* and *subjectio*. (C.)

Circumscriptor] "cheat." A very rare word, found also in Juvenal (xv. 136). *Circumscriptio* and *circumscribere* are used by Cicero in the same sense. (C.)

- 8 Quod nefarium stuprum] He was accused of having seduced a Vestal virgin; and Plutarch mentions a report that he had committed incest with his own daughter. (C.)

Juventutis illecebra, &c.] Compare with this description Or. i. § 13, *cui tu adolescentulo, &c.* Or. iii. § 16, *omnia norat, &c.* Sall. Cat. ch. 14, *maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat,*

ſc., and the interesting ſketch of his character (*pro Calio*, § 18):
Ille vero, iudices, in illo homine mirabilia fuerunt, &c.

V. *In ſcena*] Roman actors were uſually freedmen or ſlaves, 9
 and were commonly held in contempt. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF
 ANT., § 612.] (C.)

Aſſuefactus frigore, &c.] “accuſtomed to bear cold,” &c.
 With *aſſuetus* and *aſſuefactus* the beſt clafſical writers uſe the
 ablative more commonly than the dative, in the ſenſe of “accuſ-
 tomed to.” [Madvig, § 267. Zumpt, § 416.] (C.)

Fortunas ſuas obligaverunt] “they have mortgaged their pro- 10
 perty.” The common editions read *abligurierunt*, with but little
 authority of MSS. (C.)

Multa ſæcula propagarit rei publicæ] “has prolonged the 11
 exiſtence of the ſtate for many ages.” This *precise* conſtruction
 with *propagare* does not ſeem to occur elſewhere. (C.)

Unius] Pompey. (C.)

VI. *Videlicet*] Ironical. (C.)

Permodestus] Halm ſays that *modestus* here and often ſigni- 12
 fies “accommodating,” “obedient.” (C.)

Secures . . . faſces] So Salluſt (Cat. ch. 36), *cum faſcibus* 13
atque aliis imperiis inſignibus in caſtra ad Manlium contendit.
 He took with him the *faſces* as though he were conſul or pro-
 conſul, as Appian obſerves,—*ὡς τις ἀρχηγέτος*.

Credo] Ironical. (C.)

Maſſiliam] We learn from Salluſt (Cat. ch. 34), that Catiline 14
 wrote to ſeveral men of conſular rank, informing them that he
 had gone into exile to Maſſilia, not becauſe he was conſcious of
 guilt, but to reſtore public tranquillity.

VII. *Eat mihi tanti, &c.*] See on Orat. I. § 22.

Tam miſericors] He alludes ironically to thoſe who pretended 15
 to be diſtreſſed at the fate of Catiline. If they had really felt this
 pity for him, they would have wiſhed him to go to Maſſilia, where
 he would be ſafe, not to Manlius, as that ſtep muſt lead to his
 ruin.

VIII. *Qui diſſimulant*] *ſc.*, *se esse hostes*. (C.)

Sanare ſibi ipſos, &c.] “to heal them, as far as concerns 17
 themſelves, and to reconcile them to the ſtate.” Halm obſerves
 that the dative *rei publicæ* has led to the uſe of the dative, *sibi*.
 The common editions read *sanare et ipſos*. (C.)

Diſſolvi] Either (1) “free themſelves from debt,” the phrase 18
 being formed from the more uſual expreſſion, *dissolvere res*
alienum: or (2) “part with their poſſeſſions,” *possessionibus*
 being underſtood from *possessiones* in the previous clauſe; or
 (3) poſſibly, as Halm ſuggeſts, the word may intentionally be
 uſed to expreſs *both* ideas. In any caſe *diſſolvi* has a middle or
 reflective ſenſe. (C.)

Argento] “Plate.” (C.)

Familia] “Slaves.” (C.)

Omnium] = *omnium rerum*. The circumlocution with *res* is
 far more common in the oblique caſe, as it avoids an inconvenient
 ambiguity between the maſculine and neuter: but ſome excep-

tions occur. (Cf. de Fin. i. § 63, *ad cognitionem omnium*. Tac. Ann. II. 22, *Veniam omnium accepere*.) (C.)

Tabulas novas] "An abolition of debts," either total or partial. The phrase means literally "new account-books," as they used waxen tablets to keep their accounts on. Sallust tells us (Cat. ch. 21) that Catiline promised his fellow conspirators "*tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quæ bellum atque libido victorum fert*." (C.)

Tabulæ novæ . . . verum auctionariæ] "By my good services *fresh* bills shall be proposed, *but* they shall be *bills of sale*." Cicero here plays upon the term *tabulæ novæ*, which usually signifies a *revision of debts*; by which, in revolutionary times, the creditor was forced to give the debtor a *fresh bill*, making a stated deduction (often very considerable) from the old one. *Tabulæ auctionariæ* were schedules or catalogues, in which the debtor's property was summed up, preparatory to a sale by auction for the benefit of his creditors. These might in jest be called *novæ* (i. e. *insolitæ*), as being a proceeding quite unexpected by the debtors. Cicero tells us elsewhere (De Off. II. ch. 24) that during his consulship he fulfilled this promise: *Numquam vehementius actum est quam me consule, ne solveretur . . . nunquam nec majus æs alienum fuit, nec melius nec facilius dissolutum est, fraudandi enim spe sublata, solvendi necessitas consecuta est*.

Certare cum usuris fructibus prædiorum] "to struggle to pay the interest demanded by their creditors out of the income derived from their estates," i. e. instead of *selling* part to set the rest free. They were often worsted in this struggle, the interest they had to pay exceeding their entire income.

Locupletioribus . . . uteremur] "we should have in them both richer and better citizens."

- 19 **IX. Berum potiri**] Observe that, though *potiri* is usually joined with the *ablative* in classical prose, it always takes a *genitive* in the phrase *potiri rerum*. [Madvig, § 265, obs. 1. Zumpt., § 466.] (C.)

In maxima multitudine] So Halm after two MSS. instead of the common reading *maximam multitudinem*. The common reading is explained by Matthiæ as = *magnos esse animos virorum bonorum . . . maximam (eorum) multitudinem*.

Præsentēs] "powerful," or "propitious." The word is found in both these shades of meaning elsewhere in Cicero, and frequently in the poets. (C.)

- 20 **Fugitivo alicui**] "to some runaway slave." (C.)

Manlius] Dion Cassius says (xxxvii. 30) that Manlius (or Mallius, as the name is sometimes written) was a man of very great experience in military matters, having been a centurion in Scylla's army; but that he was very extravagant, and having spent his large fortune, desired an opportunity of acquiring fresh wealth. (C.)

Ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit] We learn from Appian (De Bell. Civ. i. 104) that Sulla distributed lands to 120,000 of

his old soldiers. These military colonies were most numerous in Etruria; since the Etrurians and Samnites had most obstinately continued the struggle for the party of Marius. (C.)

Universas] "taken as a whole." (C.)

Sed tamen ii sunt coloni] "But yet" (among them) "there are such colonists, as" &c. (C.)

In insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis] "being in possession of an unexpected and suddenly acquired fortune."

Tamquam beati] "as if wealthy men." (C.)

Lecticis] The *lecticæ* were a mark of opulence, as they required many *lecticarii*. They answered to a splendid equipage in our days.

Apparatis] "sumptuous," "splendid." (C.)

Dictaturas cogitare] i. e. to dream that dictatorships, and so the licence of Sulla's days, will come back again.

Illorum temporum] The days of Sulla's dictatorship.

X. Turbulentum] Probably not here "turbulent," but rather 21 "confused," "motley," as suits the accompanying epithets *varium et mixtum*. Cf. Cicero (De Fin. i. § 20), *atomorum turbulenta concursio*, "a confused concourse of atoms." (C.)

Vadimonis, iudicis, proscriptionibus bonorum] The three steps in the trial of a debtor before the prætor. (1) *Vadimonium*, "bail," "security," given by the defendant for his appearance before the prætor on the appointed day. (2) *Judicium*, "the trial" before the *judex*. (3) *Proscriptio bonorum*, a public notice of the sale of the property, which followed an unfavorable verdict, unless the sentence was otherwise satisfied. (C.)

Infitiatores lentos] Those who put off paying their debts by denying wholly, or in part, that they are *just* debts. *Infitiator* is generally used in the specific sense of "one who denies a debt." So *infitiari* in Juvenal (xiii. 60),

"Nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus."

Qui homines primum . . . corruant] (1) Some explain *primum*, "in the first place," observing that *deinde* is here, as often, omitted after *primum*. (2) Others translate *primum*, "at once," "at the very first." (3) Halm is disposed to conjecture *quam primum*, "as soon as possible." (C.)

Carcer] The great public prison at Rome was built by Ancus 22 Martius, on the slope of the Capitoline overhanging the forum. (Livy, i. 38, *Carcer ad terrorem incrementis audacia media urbe, imminens foro, edificatur*.) Servius Tullius added to it a subterranean dungeon, called from him the *Tullianum*, in which Sallust informs us (Cat. ch. 55) that Lentulus and the other accomplices of Catiline were strangled. He gives in that passage a description of that gloomy dungeon. (C.)

Imberbes] "Beardless youths," as marking either their effeminacy, or their extreme youth. (C.)

Bene barbato] "Wearing elegant beards." In Cicero's time it was the custom to shave the beard on assuming the *toga virilis*,

and afterwards not to let it grow, except in mourning. But it should be remembered that the *early* Romans did not shave, and that beards came into fashion again under the later emperors. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES, p. 196.] (C.)

Manicatis et talaribus tunicis] "Wearing tunics with long sleeves, and coming down to the ankles." Cicero mentions these as marks of effeminacy; for in his time the tunic was a short garment without sleeves. But under the later emperors tunics with sleeves, and reaching to the feet, became common. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES, p. 1173.] (C.)

Vellis amictos, non togas] i.e. "In such loose and flowing togas, that they should rather be called *veils*." A close-fitting toga indicated a person of strict character. Cf. Hor. (Ep. i. 18. 30):—

Arta decet sanum comitem toga.

(Ep. i. 19. 13):—

*Quid? si quis voltu torvo ferus, et pede nudo
Exigua togæ simulet textore Catonem.*

On the other hand an ample, flowing toga was worn by men of luxurious and effeminate habits. Cf. Hor. (Ep. iv. 7):—

*Videane, sacram metiente te viam,
Cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
Liberrima indignatio?*

Antelucanis cœnis] "Banquets continued till daybreak." This was called *cœnare in lucem*.

- 23 *Seminarium Catilinarum*] "A nursery of Catilines!" i.e. for bringing up men resembling Catiline in principles and morals. This figurative use of *seminarium* (literally, a "seed-plot," "nursery-garden") is common in Cicero and elsewhere. Here the common editions read *seminarium Catilinarium*.

His præsertim jam noctibus!] "In the" (cold) "nights of this season." The oration was delivered on the 9th of November. It must be remembered, however, that the great confusion which had crept into the Roman Calendar led to a *very* great variance between the civil and solar year,—a variance which continued to exist till the reformation of the Calendar by Julius Cæsar. (C.)

- 24 XI. *Præclaras*] Notice Cicero's frequent use of this word in an ironical sense. (C.)

Urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum] (1) Probably "the cities of the *coloniæ* and *municipia*." (2) Others consider the words as = *urbes, scilicet coloniæ ac municipia*, *urbes* denoting the *genus*, and *coloniæ* and *municipia* the *species*. (3) Some, offended at the alleged harshness of the phrase, have needlessly conjectured *vires*, or *arces*, for *urbes*. (C.)

Respondebunt] "will be a match for." This rare sense of the word occurs again (Pro Flacco, § 100): *Septimio et Cæcilio*

testibus, P. Servilius et A. Metellus repugnabunt. Asiatica jurisdictioni urbana jurisdictio respondebit.

Tumulis silvestribus] "The woody hills," which Catiline gave out that he would occupy for the purpose of carrying on a guerilla warfare.

Ornamenta] "Equipments." This is probably the primitive signification of the word, though far less common than that of "ornament." (C.)

Quibus nos suppeditamur] "In which we abound." This 25 seems to be a solitary instance of the word used in the passive in this sense. Many editions, however, read here "*suppeditamus*." (C.)

Causas ipsas, quæ inter se configunt] "The conflicting principles." (C.)

Contendere] "to compare."

Pietas] i. e. *erga patriam*, "patriotism." (C.)

Æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia] He enumerates the four famous cardinal virtues of the Platonists and Stoics: *δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρία, φρόνησις*.

XII. *Gladiatores . . . continebuntur*] (1) In this passage 26 *tamen* refers to the relative clause *quam . . . putavit*, which has a concessive sense: "The gladiators, though he thought them his surest forces, will yet be kept under by our power;" and the clause "*quanquam . . . patriciorum*" is parenthetical; "though they are better disposed than a part of the Patricians." (2) Some, thinking *tamen* was opposed to *quanquam*, have fancied that the passage should run, *Quanquam non animo meliore sunt*, &c. (3) Others, under the same mistaken impression, translate *animo meliore*, "stronger and braver." (C.)

Continebuntur] Cicero obtained a decree from the Senate, by virtue of which the gladiators were sent to Capua and other municipal towns. (Cf. Sall. Cat., ch. 30.)

Atque adeo] "Or rather." *Adeo* is often thus used with a 27 conjunction to introduce a *correction*. (C.)

Solutior] "Too lax," "too remiss." (C.)

XIII. *Togato*] "wearing the *toga*," the dress of peace, as 28 opposed to *paludato* and *sagato*. (C.)

Vix optandum] i. e. as being so *impossible*, that it would be idle to wish for it. Zumpt observes that the gerundive never has the signification of *possibility* in classical prose, unless, as here, it is joined with the particle *vix*. [Zumpt, § 650. Madvig, § 420. Obs.] (C.)

Neque bonus . . . paucorumque] A rare construction, instead of the more usual *neque . . . et*.

Significationibus] "Intimations," "tokens." (C.)

29

THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

I. *Nascendi . . . conditio*] "The position in which we are 2 placed by birth." (C.)

Illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, &c.] Romulus was worshipped under the name of Quirinus; and the festival of the Quirinalia was celebrated in his honour on the 17th of February, the day on which he was said to have been carried up to heaven. (C.)

Benevolentia famaue] Cf. De Nat. Deor. ii. § 62, *Suscepit autem vita hominum consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentes viros in cælum famâ ac voluntate tollerent.* De Off. iii. § 25, *Herculem illum, quem hominum fama beneficiorum memor in concilio caelestium collocavit.*

Retrudimus] Either (1) "we have blunted," which is the more usual meaning of the word. (Cf. Hor., Odes i. xxxv. 38, *O utinam novâ Incude diffingas retusum in Massagetas Arabasque ferrum*); or (2) "We have thrust back." (C.)

- 3 **Et exspectatis]** The older editions have "*ex actis*," "according to the official reports" of what has taken place. The regular daily journals (*Acta Diurna*) were not yet kept, if we may trust Suetonius, who says they were not commenced till the consulship of Cæsar. (Suet. Cæs., ch. 20, *Inito honore primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conscriberent, et publicarentur.*)

Paucis ante diebus] "a few days ago." In this sense we more frequently find *paucis abhinc diebus, paucos abhinc dies, ante hos paucos dies*, or *paucis his diebus*. [Madvig, § 270, obs. 3. Zumpt, § 478.] Catiline left on the night of the 8th of November, an interval of rather less than a month. (C.)

II. Cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam] (1) Some explain this as an *imperfectus conatus*, "whilst I was endeavouring to drive Catiline out." (2) But it may as naturally be understood in the primary signification of the tense: "whilst I was driving Catiline out." (C.)

Sed tum] This particle is often thus used in *resuming* the discourse, after the construction has been interrupted by an inserted clause. We find *verum, veruntamen, igitur*, and sometimes *inquam*, used in the same way. [Zumpt, § 739. Madvig, § 480.] (C.)

Exterminari] "to be banished," "expelled." It may be well to warn the beginner that *exterminare* is always used in Latin in this strict etymological sense, never in the vaguer signification of its English derivative, viz., "to destroy." (C.)

- 4 **Atque ego ut vidi]** "And so when I saw."
Rem ita comprehenderem] "I might so fully detect the whole affair." So Pro. Cluent., § 47, *quo facilius comprehenderetur res ejus indicio.*

Ut comperi] Through Q. Fabius Sanga, the patron of the Allobroges, as we learn from Sallust, who gives a detailed account of the whole transaction. (Ch. 41, seqq.)

Tumultus Gallici] "a sudden outbreak in Gallia Cisalpina." This is the strictly accurate sense of the word *tumultus*, which the use of the Romans applied properly only to a sudden or dangerous war in Italy or Gallia Cisalpina. So says Cicero (Phil. viii. ch. 1). *Itaque majores nostri tumultum Gallicum, quod*

erat Italia finitimus, præterea nullum nominabant. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT. p. 1171.]

P. Lentulo] This fellow-conspirator of Catiline had been Prætor, B.C. 75, and Consul B.C. 71. He had subsequently been expelled from the senate for scandalous immorality, and became Prætor again, B.C. 63, to recover his place in the senate. (C.)

Volturcius] A native of Crotona in Magna Græcia. (Sall. Cat. ch. 44.)

L. Flaccum] He was afterwards Proprætor of Asia, and, 5 being accused of extortion, was defended by Cicero in the extant *Oratio pro L. Valerio Flacco*, in the conclusion of which Cicero urges with great eloquence the services rendered to the state by Flaccus on occasion of the conspiracy of Catiline.

Pontem Mulvium] Now *Ponte Molle*, a bridge over the Tiber, two Roman miles from the *Porta Flaminia*, on the *Via Flaminia*. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus, the Censor; and Halm conjectures that the name *Mulvius* was a corruption of *Æmilius*. (C.)

Ex præfectura Reatina] "from the *præfectura* of Reate." A *præfectura* was an Italian city governed by a *præfectus juri dicundo*, sent annually from Rome. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., pp. 318, 319.] Reate (now *Rieti*), a Sabine town, was made a *præfectura* in the third Samnite war. Cicero was *patronus* of the Reatini (cf. Or. pro M. Æmilio Scauro, § 27), and so could count on their help. (C.)

Magno comitatu] We might have expected *cum magno comitatu*; but the Latin idiom often expresses something *accompanying* the action by the *modal* or *circumstantial* ablative without *cum*. [Madvig, § 257. Zumpt, § 473.] (C.)

Educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris] Sallust (Cat., ch. 45) relates the matter rather differently: *Simul utrimque clamor exortus est; Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine morâ prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit; deinde ubi a legatis desertus est . . . sese prætoribus dedit.*

III. C. Cethegus] One of the leading spirits in Catiline's conspiracy. Sallust speaks of his energetic nature (Cat. ch. 43): *Naturâ ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat.* To him was assigned the office of murdering the chief senators. He complained bitterly, Sallust tells us, of the procrastination and inactivity of his fellow-conspirators.

Præter consuetudinem . . . vigilarat] Lentulus was notoriously indolent. So Dion Cassius (xxxvii. 32), ὁ Λέντουλος ἡμιστὰ δραστήριος ἦν. So Catiline says of him (Sall. Cat. ch. 58), *Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisq[ue] attulerit.*

Senatum . . . coegi] Cicero summoned the senate to meet in 8 the Temple of Concord (Sall. Cat. ch. 46), which stood between the Forum and the Capitol. Its elevated site, close to the *Clivus Capitolinus*, commanding the Forum, made it a very strong place; and a guard of Equites volunteered to defend it against all attacks.

IV. *Fidem publicam . . . dedi*] "I promised him security in the name of the state;" i.e. "I promised him free pardon." The expression *fides publica*, which Sallust also uses in his narrative of the event, corresponds with the Greek *ἀδελία*.

Ut servorum praesidio uteretur] Catiline had refused to accept the services of slaves (Sall. Cat. ch. 44), *Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: Cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet?*

- 9 *Confirmasse*] "Had affirmed," "had asserted." (C.)

Fatis] "Oracles." This rare signification of *fatum* seems to be its *primary* meaning, according to its etymology (from *fari*). (C.)

Fatalem . . . annum] "The destined year." *Fatalis* does not appear to occur in pure classical prose in the sense of "fatal," "destructive." (C.)

Post virginum absolutionem] "After the acquittal of the Vestal virgins." Nothing certain is known about this particular trial. If a Vestal virgin violated her vow of chastity, she was buried alive. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 1190.] (C.)

Post Capitolii . . . incensionem] The Capitol was burnt down B.C. 83. The cause of the accident seems to have been unknown. Sulla began to rebuild it; and after his death it was dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus, B.C. 69.

- 10 *Saturnalibus*] In Cicero's time the saturnalia were celebrated on the 19th of December; but the day was changed to the 17th of December by the adoption of the Julian Calendar. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 1009.] (C.)

V. *Cognovit*] "Recognized," "acknowledged." A rare sense, *agnoscere* being generally used in this signification. (C.)

Linum] The "string" or "thread" with which waxen tablets were fastened, and on which a seal was placed. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., pp. 1091, 1092.] (C.)

Quæ sibi . . . recepissent] "What they had engaged to do for him," i.e. Cethegus. (C.)

Aliquid tamen] i.e. although his guilt was manifest, "nevertheless," &c.

Avi tui] P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was Consul B.C. 162, and afterwards *Princeps Senatus*. Cicero's praise of his patriotism refers to his zeal in attacking Gracchus, on which occasion he received a severe wound. (Cf. Cat. iv. § 18.) (C.)

- 11 *Per quem*] By P. Umbrenus. (Cf. infra, § 14; and Sall. Cat. ch. 40.) (C.)

Dicendi exercitatio] Cicero elsewhere gives a less favourable opinion of the oratorical merits of Lentulus (Brut. § 235), *Negue multo secus P. Lentulus, cujus et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formæ dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo*. This, however, is a *critical* judgment; while in the present oration, in addressing the people, he adopts their opinion; for the personal advantages enumerated above are highly valued by them, and the adoption of this opinion gives more force to the proof of his guilt afforded by his loss of presence of mind.

Quis sim, &c.] The letter in Sallust (Cat. ch. i. 44) is given 12 with some slight variations: *Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quâ calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse, consideres quid tuæ rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.* Halm is disposed to think the version in Cicero the original, on account of its hasty and negligent expressions. Matthiæ observes, that ancient orators and historians did not hesitate to alter the words of a speech or letter, provided they preserved the sense.

Inter se aspiciabant] "Looked at one another," = *se inter* 13 *se aspiciabant.* This is the usual construction in classical Latin to express the deficient reciprocal pronoun. [Madvig, § 490, c. Obs. 6. Zumpt, § 300.] (C.)

VI. Collegæ meo] C. Antonius. He does not appear to have 14 deserved Cicero's praise. (Cf. Introduction.) He was probably absent from Rome at this time, as Sallust says (Cat. ch. 30) that on the arrival of the news of Catiline's having reached the camp of Manlius, the senate directed Antonius to pursue Catiline with an army. (C.)

Cum se prætura abdicasset] This voluntary resignation is also mentioned by Plutarch. (Cic. ch. 19.) It was a necessary preliminary step, as no magistratus could be tried while he held office. (C.)

In custodiam] i.e. *in custodiam liberam.* (Cf. Sall. Cat., ch. 47. *Senatus decernit, uti abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri, in liberis custodiis haberentur.*)

Novem hominum] Only five were actually executed, viz., 15 Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, Caparius. The other four made their escape. (Cf. Pro Sulla, § 83. Sall. Cat. ch. 50 and 55.)

Supplicatio] "A solemn public thanksgiving." This is by far the most usual sense of the word; but it is also found in the meaning of "a solemn public humiliation and supplication for help." [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 1079.] (C.)

Meo nomine] "On my account." (C.)

Decreta est] On the motion of L. Aurelius Cotta. Cicero repeatedly mentions this singular honour conferred on him, viz., a *supplicatio* decreed to him for services rendered to the state in a civil capacity. (Cf. Phil. ii. § 13. Ad Fam. v. 2. 8.) (C.)

Italiam bello liberaassem] Great as were Cicero's services on this occasion, the expression must be considered a rhetorical exaggeration; though Klotz tries to justify it by the argument that there might have been a war with the Allobroges, if Catiline had brought them into Italy. (C.)

Religio] "Religious scruple," "conscientious scruple." (C.)

C. Glauciam] See on First Orat., § 4, where it will be seen that the circumstances of the case were not exactly as Cicero here represents them. (C.)

VII. Lentuli somnum] On the indolence of Lentulus, cf. 16 § 6, *præter consuetudinem . . . vigilarat*; and note there. (C.)

Cassii adipēs] So Asconius remarks (on Orat. in Togâ Can-

didd), Cassium, qui iners ac stolidus tum magis quam improbus videretur, post paucos menses in conjuratione Catilinæ esse apparuit, ac crudelissimarum sententiarum fuisse auctorem.

Cethegi furiosam tameritatem] See on § 6.

- 17 *Dimicandum . . . fuisset*] In a hypothetical sentence of this character, the indicative is far more usual than the subjunctive. [Zumpt, § 519 a. Madvig, § 348 a.]

- 18 VIII. *Quamquam*] "And yet." This particle is often thus used in a transition. [Zumpt, § 341, note. Madvig, § 443.] (C.)

Ut illa omittam, &c.] Cicero described these prodigies at very great length in some indifferent verses in the Second Book of his poem, "*De Consulatu*," which are quoted, *De Divin.* i., ch. 11. They are also enumerated by Dion Cassius (37, ch. 9).

Neque prætermittendum neque relinquendum] "Should not either be accidentally omitted, or intentionally passed over." (Cf. *De Off.* iii. § 4, *Negant eum locum a Panætio prætermisum, sed consulto relictum.*)

- 19 *Cotta et Torquato consulibus*] B.C. 65; two years before Cicero was consul.

De cælo esse percussas] "Were struck with lightning." (C.)

Legum æra] "The bronze tablets of the laws," which were usually fastened up in the temples. Tacitus uses the same expression. (*Hist.* iv. 40.) (C.)

Fuisse meministis] *Memini* more commonly takes the *present* infinitive, of a thing which a person has himself witnessed. [Madvig, § 408 b. Obs. 2. Zumpt, § 589.] (C.)

Haruspices ex tota Etruria] The Romans often sent to Etruria for *haruspices* on important occasions, as the Etruscans were famous for their knowledge of divination. [Cf. SMITH'S *DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ.*, p. 586.] (C.)

Prope] "Almost." (C.)

- 20 *Signum collocandum . . . locaverant*] "Had the statue erected by contract." We have no single word in English by which to translate *locare*, which is the correlative term to *redimere*, *conducere*, "to contract to do a thing." It was properly the office of the censor to make arrangements respecting the contracts for public buildings; but the consuls seem often to have acted for them; and this year the censors had resigned office in consequence of a quarrel. (C.)

Neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur] In all probability Cicero contrived to have the statue erected thus opportunely, to impress the imagination of the people with the coincidence. Still he mentions the circumstance elsewhere as a marvel. (*De Div.* ii. § 46, *Mirabile autem illud, quod eo ipso tempore, quo fieret indicium conjurationis in senatu, signum Jovis, biennio post quam erat locatum, in Capitolio collocaretur.*)

- 21 IX. *Illud vero nonne ita præsens est?*] (1) "Is it not a manifest divine interposition?" So Halm paraphrases the difficult word *præsens*, considering its use here analogous to *præsens*

deus. (2) Others explain *præsens* more simply, "manifest." (C.)

Ut . . . statueretur ? The *ut* with the subjunctive seems to be virtually dependent on *factum esse videatur*, according to the familiar circumlocution with *facio*. [Zumpt, § 619. Madvig, § 481 b.] But the construction is slightly confused, as it would have been more natural to make the clause run thus: *Illud nonne ita præsens est, &c. . . quod signum statutum est ?*

Jam vero ab Lentulo, &c. So Halm, after Mommsen's con- 22
jecture, instead of the unintelligible reading of the MSS. and common editions: *Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio jam ab Lentulo, &c.* Orelli had previously marked the passage as corrupt. Some, however, think the common reading is genuine, though the idea is carelessly, if not ungrammatically, expressed. (C.)

Ex civitate male pacata The Allobroges had been conquered by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus B.C. 121; but they were impatient of their subjection. They rebelled again after this time, and were reduced to submission by C. Pomptinus, B.C. 61. (Cf. *Orat. de Prov. Cons.* 13; and *Livy*, *Epit.* 103.)

Præsertim qui . . . superare potuerint "Especially since they could have overcome," &c. So Halm, after a conjecture of Madvig, instead of the common reading "*potuerunt*." The construction certainly seems to require a subjunctive, which regularly in Cicero follows *utpote qui*, *quippe qui*, *præsertim qui*, or *qui* alone, containing a reason. [Madvig, § 366, obs. 2. Zumpt, § 564.] Some, however, defend the common reading by the argument that *præsertim qui* does not here express a reason with sufficient explicitness absolutely to require a subjunctive. (C.)

X. Pulvinaria "Cushioned couches," on which at all solemn 23
supplicationes the images of the gods were laid, with tables and a banquet before them. This ceremony was called a *lectisternium*. [Cf. *SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES*, p. 673.]

L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit P. Sulpicius, the ancient 24
orator, being appointed tribune, B.C. 88, sided with the party of Marius against Sulla, and having carried two laws respecting the franchise, which increased the influence of Marius, contrived to get the command of the Mithridatic war transferred from Sulla to Marius. But Sulla promptly marched upon Rome, and proscribed Sulpicius, among others. Sulpicius, who had made his escape, was betrayed by a slave, and put to death. All the other persons mentioned in Sulla's decree, including Marius himself, escaped. (C.)

Cn. Octavius A supporter of Sulla and the aristocratical party, was consul, B.C. 87, and expelled his colleague, Cinna, who favoured Marius. (C.)

Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario After the expulsion of Cinna, he and Marius returned to Rome, which they besieged; and when the city was compelled to surrender through famine, a bloody massacre ensued, in which Cn. Octavius, and L. Merula, the consuls, the distinguished orator M. Antonius, and other leaders of the aristocratical party perished. (C.)

Ultus est . . . Sulla, &c.] In his Proscription, B.C. 82, one of the most frightful reigns of terror that history records. (C.)

Dissensit M. Lepidus a . . . Catulo] Lepidus was consul; B.C. 78, and immediately after the death of Sulla sought to rescind his laws. But he was opposed by his colleague, Q. Catulus, and was defeated in battle by him and Pompey. After this he fled to Sardinia, where he soon died of grief. (C.)

- 25 **Atque illas tamen . . . dissentiones]** *Tamen* refers to *quae non ad delendam, &c.*: i.e. although those dissensions had for their object, not the overthrow of the state, but a change of the constitution, yet, &c.

In hoc . . . uno . . . maximo . . . bello] *Uno* is added to strengthen the superlative, as often. [Madvig, § 310. Obs. 2. Zumpt, § 691.] (C.)

Nulla . . . barbaria] "No barbarous country." (C.)

Tantum civium] "Only so many citizens." So below, *tantum . . . urbis*, "only so much of the city." (C.)

- 26 **XI. Eandemque diem, &c.]** Unless the passage is corrupt (as many suppose), it should probably be rendered: "And I understand that the same extended duration (eternal, as I hope,) has been granted both to the preservation of the state and to the memory of my consulship:" i.e. the memory of my consulship will last as long as the state itself. The beginner should notice that *dies*, when used, as here, in the sense of "time," "period," is *feminine* in classical prose. [Zumpt, § 86, note. Madvig, § 49.]

Uno[que] tempore, &c.] (1) If the common reading is correct, *intelligo* must be understood again before *unoque*,—"And I know that at the same time there were two citizens," &c. (2) Halm, &c., bracket *que* as spurious. If this be correct, the passage should be translated: "The remembrance of my consulship, viz. that at the same time there were," &c., *uno tempore . . . existisse* being an epexegetis of *ad memoriam consulatus mei*. But Halm owns that this explanation is harsh. (3) He and others suspect some graver corruption, e.g. the omission of some words after *consulatus mei*. (C.)

Alter] Pompey.

Regionibus] Probably "limits," "boundaries." (C.)

- 27 **XII. Facta sua recte prosunt]** (1) "Their exploits are rightly a source of advantage to them," *recte* being taken with *prosunt*. (2) But other editions read (after some MSS.), *recte facta sua prosunt*, "their right actions are a source of advantage to them." In this sense, however, the usual order of the words would be *sua recte facta*, which indeed some editions adopt without any MS. authority. (C.)

- 29 **Custodem . . . vestrum]** *Nostrum* and *vestrum* are rarely thus found as *objective* genitives for *nostri* and *vestri*, being ordinarily used as *partitive* genitives. [Madvig, § 297 c. Zumpt, § 431.] (C.)

Priore nocte] The night on which the ambassadors of the Allobroges, with Volturcius, were seized at the Pons Mulvius. (C.)

FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

I. Voluntas] “good will,” “kind feelings,” with an implied 1 reference to the anxiety for Cicero arising from that good will.

Forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur] Because the 2 *judicia* were held in the Forum. (C.)

Consularibus auspiciis consecratus] “consecrated by the auspices taken before the assemblies for the election of consuls.” [Cf. SMITH’S DICT. OF ANT., p. 335.] (C.)

Hæc sedes honoris] i. e. the *sella curulis*, or chair of state, on which the consuls, etc., had the right of sitting. [Cf. SMITH’S DICT. OF ANT., p. 1014.] In the present passage many editions read *sella curulis* after *sedes honoris*, but Halm rejects the words as a probable gloss. (C.)

Multa tacui] This is probably an allusion to the suspicions entertained by some, that Crassus and Cæsar were privy to the conspiracy of Catiline. (C.)

In vestro timore] “while you were in fear.”

Suum nomen . . . putavit] Cf. iii. § 9, *Se (Lentulum) esse illum tertium Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinna ante se et Sullam fuisse*. Cinna, Sulla, and Lentulus, all belonged to the distinguished *Cornelia Gens*. (C.)

Fatalem] See on Third Orat. § 9. (C.)

II. Pro eo . . . ac mereor] “in proportion to my deserts.” *Ac* 3 is thus used in the sense of “as” or “than,” with adjectives and adverbs denoting *similarity* or *dissimilarity*, *equality* or *inequality*. [Madvig, § 444 b, Zumpt, § 340, note.] (C.)

Si quid obtigerit] The usual euphemism of death is *si quid acciderit*. (C.)

Neque immatura consulari] “nor can his death be premature who has been a consul,” i. e. has already attained the highest honours of the state. (C.)

Fratris carissimi] Q. Cicero, who was *Prætor designatus* for B.C. 62.

Uxor] Terentia, Cicero’s first wife, a woman of sense and spirit, whom, however, he divorced late in life, and married Publilia, a wealthy ward. (C.)

Filia] Tullia, his only daughter. She died before her father (B.C. 45), to his great grief. (C.)

Parvulus filius] Marcus, Cicero’s only son, at this time only two years old.

Gener] C. Calpurnius Piso, Tullia’s first husband, died in early life, before Cicero’s recall from exile. As he was not *Quæstor* till B.C. 58, he could not at this time have been in the senate house, but he might have been standing at the open door, as was the custom. (Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 37. Plin. viii. 14.)

Una reipublicæ peste] “in one common ruin of the state.” *Unus* is often used in this sense.

- 4 *Quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit*] In early times a man was often re-elected tribune, but in the time of Ti. Gracchus such a re-election was objected to, as contrary either to custom or, possibly, to law. But his brother, C. Gracchus, was subsequently tribune for two successive years. (C.)

Agrarios] "the agrarian party," i. e. those who supported an agrarian law for the division of the public lands among the poor citizens. (C.)

L. Saturninus] See on First Orat. § 4.

C. Memmius occidit] Memmius was a candidate for the consulship B.C. 100, when Glaucia, the friend of Saturninus, was his competitor. As it seemed certain that Memmius would be elected, Saturninus and Glaucia hired some ruffians, who beat him to death in the Campus Martius. (C.)

- 5 III. *Multis jam judiciis judicavistis*] "You have pronounced judgment on the question by many expressions of such judgment." Cicero skilfully endeavours to give to their decisions the force of judicial determinations.

Meo nomine] See on Third Orat., § 15.

Supplicationem] See on Third Orat., § 15.

Sine ulla dubitatione] "without a moment's hesitation."

- 6 *Institui*] "I began." The word is used again in the same sense, § 24. *Decernite diligenter, ut institutis, ac fortiter.* (C.)

Tamquam integrum] "as an open question," i. e. as a matter on which nothing has yet been decided. (C.)

Statusandum vobis ante noctem est] (1) Partly because delay was dangerous, lest the partisans of the prisoners should stir up a tumult, and attempt to rescue them by force: (2) partly because a *senatus consultum* passed after sunset would be invalid.

Huic . . . affines] "implicated in this," "guilty of this." In this sense *affinis* takes a genitive or a dative with equal propriety. [Zumpt, § 411. Madvig, § 247 b, obs. 4.]

Sustentando] "by delay." This sense of the word seems to be confined to Cicero.

Vobis vindicandum est] "you must punish them."

- 7 IV. *D. Silani*] Sallust says (Cat. ch. 50) that Silanus was asked his opinion, first because he was *consul designatus*. This seems to have been the usual custom. Cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 22, *Tiberius exemit Drusum, consulem designatum, dicendum primo loco sententiæ*. Appian (B. C. ii. 5) assigns as the reason of the custom, *ὡς αὐτὸς, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν κυρουμένων ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον εὐθυμησόμενος περὶ ἐκδότου*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 1020.] Sallust adds, that Silanus was afterwards persuaded by the speech of Cæsar to change his opinion and vote against the capital punishment of the conspirators. (C.)

C. Cæsaris] He spoke early as *prætor designatus*. The substance of his speech (*hujusmodi verba*) is given by Sallust at great length (Cat. ch. 51).

Recordatur] (1) Probably, "calls to his remembrance." (2) Some say that *recordatur* here = *commemorat*, "mentions,"

"reminds us;" but Halm denies that the word is ever found in this sense in classical authors. (C.)

Sancit] "forbids under pain of punishment." So elsewhere *sanctio legis* is the "penalty" a law enacts against those who transgress it, which gives it its authority. (C.)

Dolores . . . poenas ademisset] Notice this exception to the almost universal rule of Latin prose, "*Adimuntur bona, eximuntur mala.*"

Voluerunt] "have held the opinion," "have maintained."

V. Cognitore hujusce sententiae] "the advocate of this proposal." In Roman law the *cognitor* was an "attorney" appointed to represent the plaintiff or defendant in a suit. [Cf. SMITH'S *DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES*, p. 12.] Hence the word is used here in a more general sense. (C.)

Nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur] "I rather think that more trouble is in store for me." (C.)

Voluntatis] "good-will," "affection," as in § 1, and often. (C.)

Abesse nonneminem] Either (1) "that many a one is absent," 10 the reference being to more than one person, though *is* follows in the singular; or (2) "that somebody is absent," whence the use of the singular *is*. A scholiast says that Q. Metellus Nepos, who was *tribunus plebis* B.C. 62, is the person intended. (C.)

Velicet] Ironical, as often.

Quæsitori] "the investigator of the case." In Roman law the *quæstor* was the Prætor who presided in criminal trials. [Cf. SMITH'S *DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES*, p. 648.] Here (as was the case above with *cognitore*) the word is used in a more general sense. Cicero had not really been appointed (as a *quæstor*) to try the cause, nor had there been a regular trial, but the investigation before the senate was *analogous* to a trial.

Gratulationem] Nearly = *supplicationem*, "a thanksgiving." (C.)

Legem Semproniam] The *Lex Sempronia de capite civium*, proposed by C. Gracchus B.C. 123, enacted "*Ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu populi judicaretur.*" (C.)

Ipsum latorem Sempronie legis] C. Gracchus. (C.)

Injussu populi] (1) This conjecture has been adopted by Halm, Madvig, &c., instead of the reading of the MSS., *jussu populi*, as suiting better the facts of the case. For C. Gracchus was not put to death *jussu populi*, as the senate had given Optimus unlimited powers to take measures for the preservation of the state, by the usual decree, *Darent operam consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.* (2) The common editions read *jussu populi*, regarding Cicero's account of the death of Gracchus as an intentional misstatement, to suit his argument. (C.)

VI. Statueritis, dederitis] The future perfect sometimes 11 stands thus both in the leading and subordinate clauses, to indicate that the completion of the two actions will be *contemporaneous*. [Madvig, § 340, obs. 2. Zumpt, § 511.]

Comitem . . . populo carum] Cæsar. (C.)

Crudelitatis vituperatione populus Romanus exsolvet] Halm

has adopted with hesitation this doubtful conjecture of Madvig, in place of the probably corrupt readings of MSS. and common editions, *crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano exsolvit*, or, *a crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis*. (C.)

Obtinebo] "I shall maintain," "prove." (C.)

Ita mihi . . . liceat, ut, &c.] "As truly as I wish to enjoy," &c., "so truly am I not moved by," &c. A usual form of asseveration. Cf. Div. § 41, *Ita mihi Deos velim propitios, ut . . . perhorresco*. Ter. Eun. iv. 4. 1, *Ita me Dii bene ament*.

- 12 **Purpuratum esse huic Gabinium**] "and Gabinium, his state officer." The term *purpurati* was used under the Macedonian monarchy (cf. Livy xxx. 42), and under the kings of Syria, &c. (cf. Livy, xxxvii. 23) as a title of *ministers of state, members of the royal household, &c.*, from their purple dress. (C.)

Deflagrati] Notice this extremely rare use of the passive participle, as if *flagrare* were an active verb. The only other example is from Ennius (Cic. Tusc. iii. § 44, *fana flamma deflagrata*). Vitruvius, however, once uses *deflagrare* as an active verb. (C.)

- 13 **L. Cæsar**] L. Julius Cæsar, consul B.C. 64.

Sororis suæ . . . virum] The conspirator, P. Lentulus, the second husband of Julia, the sister of L. Cæsar. (By her first husband, M. Antonius Creticus, she was the mother of Mark Antony the Triumvir).

Avum suum] His maternal grandfather, M. Fulvius Flaccus. For an account of the events here alluded to see, on First Orat. § 4.

Largitionis voluntas] A reference to the *Lex Frumentaria* of C. Sempronius Gracchus, by which each citizen was entitled to receive every month a certain quantity of wheat at a price much below its market value. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 548.] (C.)

Vereamini censeo] "I think you ought to fear. Ironical. We find the same construction in the same ironical sense in Sallust (Cat. ch. 52), "*misereamini censeo*."

Remissione pœnæ] (1) "By a *mitigation* of the punishment." (2) The common school dictionaries translate inaccurately "a *remission* of the penalty." (C.)

- 14 **VII. Exaudio**] Either (1) "hear clearly," as Halm, who says the word is generally used (with a negative, as *vix*), with reference to a hindrance arising from the distance, or from the weakness of the speaker's voice. Or (2) "hear from a distance," i.e., catch the words of those who surrounded the door of the senate-house. (C.)

- 15 **Ita summam . . . concedunt, ut . . . certent**] "who concede to you, indeed, the first place in rank and in deliberation, but still rival you in love for the state." *Ita . . . ut* often has this restrictive meaning, "only in so far." [Zumpt, § 726.] (C.)

Ex multorum annorum dissensione hujus ordinis] "after a disagreement of many years' standing with this order." The quarrels alluded to arose from the constant jealousy between the Senate and Equites, respecting the judicial power. The *Lex*

Sempronia (B.C. 122), had deprived the Senate of their judicial power, and transferred it to the Equites. The *Lex Cornelia* of Sulla (B.C. 81) restored it to the Senate. And lastly, the *Lex Aurelia* (B.C. 70) had enacted that the *judices* should be chosen from all the three classes of Senators, Equites, and Tribuni Aërii. [On this important subject cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 649.]

Ad societatem concordiamque revocatos] i. e. by the *Lex Aurelia*, as described in the preceding note.

Tribunos ærarios] Some of the more wealthy and respectable plebeians, who collected the money for the payment of the army. They seem originally to have paid the soldiers themselves, but afterwards to have handed over the money collected to the military Quæstors. They are mentioned here because the *Lex Aurelia* had rendered them eligible as *judices*, as representatives of the *plebs*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 1149.] (C.)

Scribas] The "public notaries," "government clerks," who were numerous enough to constitute an *ordo* or class in the state. They were called *scribæ Quæstorii*, *Ædilicii*, *Prætorii*, from the magistrate to whom they were respectively attached. It is commonly said that they were mainly or entirely *libertini*; but Mommsen and Halm maintain that the *scribæ Quæstorii* and *Ædilicii* were almost exclusively *ingenui*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 1012.] (C.)

Quos cum casu hie dies ad ærarium frequentasset] "for as it chanced that this very day assembled them in crowds at the treasury." This *exact* use of *frequentare* is rare. Cicero does not mean that the *scribæ* met *by accident* on that day (the Nones of December), for it was the *regular dies sortitionis*, when the scribes drew lots at the *ærarium*, the temple of Saturn, to decide to which magistrate each should be attached. The *accident* was the coincidence that that day was the day on which Cicero was speaking.

VIII. *Fortunam hujus civitatis*] i. e., the right of citizen-ship, obtained by *manumissio*. [Cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 730.]

Voluntatis] Depends on *quantum*. The dependent genitive often stands at a considerable distance from *tantum* and *quantum*. (Cf. De Off. ii. 9, *Quantum volet habebit ad faciendam fidem virium*.)

Lenonem quendam Lentuli, &c.] Sallust gives a fuller account of this (Cat. ch. 50). *Dum hæc in senatu aguntur . . . liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque seruitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant*. Cicero probably uses the word *leno* in a general sense for *nuntius* or *minister*, but with an allusion to the dissipated habits of Lentulus.

Illum ipsum . . . locum] The Forum, where there were many *tabernæ*, or "shops." (C.)

Instrumentum] Literally, "tools;" but here (as Halm observes) to be taken in a wider sense for "all the means of earning a living." (C.)

IX. *Ignem illum Vestæ sempiternum*] Probably, "the eternal 18.

fire of Vesta burning yonder," the orator pointing to the temple of Vesta in the Forum. (C.)

- 19 *Una nox*] The night of the 3rd of December, on which the ambassadors of the Allobroges were arrested. (C.)

- 20 *X. Gratulationem*] See on § 10.

- 21 *Regionibus*] See on Third Orat., § 26.

Ut... illi, qui absunt, habeant quo victores revertantur] Probably there is a particular reference to Pompey, who was absent at this time, being in command of the army in the war against Mithridates. Pompey on his return paid Cicero this compliment. (De Off. i. § 78.) *Mihi quidem... Cn. Pompeius multis audientibus hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rempublicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.*

- 22 *Conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum*] This was an unfortunate prediction; for the Senate and Equites began to quarrel again two years from the date of this speech. (C.)

Conspirationem] "Harmony," "unanimity." The beginner should observe that the word is more frequently found thus used in a good sense, though we also meet with it in the bad sense of a "conspiracy." (C.)

- 23 *XI. Pro provincia, quam neglexi*] Cicero might have had the rich province of Macedonia after the termination of his consulship, but he gave it up, and with it the prospect of a *triumphus*, to his colleague Antonius, to withdraw him from his connexion with Catiline, whose plans he was supposed to favour. He then declined the province of Gallia Cisalpina, which had originally fallen to the lot of Antonius. (C.)

Clientelis hospitibusque] The provincial towns often chose the late governor of the province to be their *patronus*; and at the same time they usually conferred on him the honour of *hospes publicus*. (C.)

THE ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

INTRODUCTION.

Nothing is known of Archias except what Cicero tells us in this Oration. From it we learn that he was a native of Antioch, in Syria, and distinguished himself in early life by his poetical talents, and especially by his skill as an *improvisatore*. After travelling through Asia, Greece, and Magna Græcia, and being received every where with great favour, he came to Rome, B.C. 102. He was there patronized by many noble families, and especially by the Luculli. After a time he accompanied a member of that family (father or son) to Sicily, and thence to Heraclea, in Lucania, a *civitas fœderata*, of which he was made a citizen.

Subsequently it was enacted by the *Lex Plautia et Papiria* (B.C. 89), that all persons who had been enrolled citizens of a *civitas fœderata*, should receive the Roman *civitas* on certain conditions. Archias took advantage of this law, and was made a Roman-citizen, adopting from his patron Lucullus the Gentile name of *Licinius*. Many years afterwards (B.C. 62) he was prosecuted by one Gratius, under the *Lex Papia*, on the charge of having claimed the Roman citizenship without fulfilling the conditions imposed by the *Lex Plautia et Papiria*. Cicero defended him in the present oration; and it is generally supposed that he procured his acquittal, though of this we have no certain knowledge.

None of the poems of Archias are now extant, unless we are to attribute to him some of the many indifferent epigrams in the Greek Anthology which bear the name of Archias, of which two specimens are given above (p. 101).

I. Exercitatio dicendi] Not merely "practice in speaking," 1 but rather "readiness acquired by practice."

In qua . . . mediocriter esse] Several commentators point out that this is a regular hexameter. Halm objects that the *o* in *mediocris* was always *short* in prose. It certainly was usually *long* in poetry. [Cf. Quicherat's *Thesaurus Poeticus Lingua Latinae*.] (C.)

Hujusce rei ratio aliqua] "Any knowledge of the *principles* of this subject," i. e. eloquence. (C.)

A. Licinius] When Archias was made a Roman citizen, he took the *nomen* or gentile name of his patrons the Luculli, as was usual on such occasions. The *prænomen* also was frequently adopted; but we do not know that the *prænomen* *Aulus* belonged to any of the Luculli. (C.)

Repetere] "To claim as his due."

Prope suo jure] "Almost as his own by right." The *prope* softens the *suo jure*, which would otherwise be an exaggerated statement.

Pueritiæ memoriâ . . . ultimam] "The earliest remembrances of my boyhood." Cicero was four years old when Archias came to Rome (B.C. 102). (C.)

Ceteris opitulari et alios servare] Notice the distinction between *ceteris*, "every body else," and *alios*, "some others." Cicero could *help every one* by undertaking his cause; but he could only *save some* of his clients. (C.)

Quasi cognatione quadam] The beginner should be careful to 2 notice the constant use of *quidam*, or *quasi quidam*, with substantives and adjectives, to *soften* and *qualify* a strong expression, and to show that it is to be taken figuratively. Zumpt observes, that "the best Latin writers, and more particularly Cicero, are very scrupulous in their application of words, and add their *quidam*, or *quasi quidam*, when later writers and modern languages do not feel any necessity for such a modifying or softening word." [Zumpt, § 707. Madvig, § 444 a, obs. 2.] (C.)

- 3 II. In *questione legitima*] "In a trial founded on a law;" i. e. on the *Lex Papia*, which banished *peregrini* from Rome. [Cf. De Off. iii. § 47.] (C.)

In *judicio publico*] The *Judicia Publica* seem to have been those criminal prosecutions in which the offender was tried under some particular *Lex*, as in the present case. [On this rather intricate subject, cf. SMITH'S DICT. OF ANT., p. 648.] (C.)

Apud *prætores* . . . *lectissimum virum*] Said by the Scholiast to be Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator. (C.)

Paullo loqui *liberius*] Either (1) "to speak freely, boldly;" or (2) "to speak at length, fully." Cicero uses the phrase in both senses.

In *ejus modi persona*] "In dealing with the sort of character." (C.)

Quæ . . . *minime . . . tractata est*] (1) "Is seldom *dragged about* in law courts." So Halm, who thinks a strong expression is used to excite a prejudice against the prosecutor. (2) Others explain it "in dealing with a character which is seldom *represented* in the law courts," observing that the phrase *tractare personam* is properly said of an actor. (Cf. Pro Rosc. Com. § 61. De Off. iii. § 106, *Cum tractaretur Atreus*.) (C.)

Periculis] "Trials," "law-suits," regarded as involving a risk of condemnation.

- 4 III. Ex *pueris excessit*] This phrase, like the similar expression in Terence (*Andria* i. 1. 24), *Nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis*, is an imitation of the Greek idiom: ἐκ παίδων ἐξελθεῖν, ἐξ ἐφήβων ἐξελθεῖν. (C.)

Artibus] "Studies." (C.)

Antiochiæ . . . *celebri . . . urbe*] It should be observed that *urbs* and *oppidum*, when they follow the name of a town as appositions, *generally* take a preposition; sometimes, though *rarely*, the simple ablative, as in this passage, but *never* the genitive. [Zumpt, § 399. Madvig, § 296a. Obs. 2.] (C.)

Loco *nobili*] "Of high birth," "of good family."

Antecellere . . . *contigit*] This is the only instance in Cicero of *contingit* joined with the infinitive, instead of *ut* and the subjunctive. But in the poets, and in later prose, the construction with the infinitive is common. [Zumpt, § 622. Madvig, § 373. Obs. 2.]

- 5 Italia] i. e. *Magna Græcia*. The name was originally applied only to the south of Bruttium, and was gradually extended northwards, till in the time of the emperors it came to include the whole of the Italian peninsula as far as the Alps. *Italia* is here opposed to *Latium*, the part of Italy in which Latin was spoken.

Propter *tranquillitatem rei publicæ*] The tranquillity of Italy was almost entirely undisturbed during the thirty years which intervened between the death of C. Gracchus (B.C. 121), and the beginning of the Social War (B.C. 90).

Tarentini et *Regini* et *Neapolitani*] Regium and Neapolis were only *civitates federatæ* when Archias received their citizen-

ship. Tarentum had received a Roman colonia, B.C. 123; but probably by the Tarentini are here meant the *Tarentini ceteres*, or old Greek population, not the *Tarentini coloni*, or new Roman colony.

Absentibus] "To those who had never seen him." We should have expected to find *absens*. (C.)

Romam venit Mario consule et Catulo] B.C. 102. Notice the unusual order, instead of *Mario et Catulo Coss.*

Alter res ad scribendum maximas] Marius, who had conquered Jugurtha, was defeating the Teutones, and was soon to defeat the Cimbri. He had no taste for letters, and despised the study of the Greek language and literature, which had become fashionable in his time. With *res gestas* some such verb as *suppeditare* must be supplied, *adhibere* being used by *Zeugma* with both notions. (C.)

Alter . . . studium atque aures adhibere posset] "The other" (Catulus) "could show fondness and taste for literature." The word *aures* seems to mean here "taste" (in a sense analogous to our phrase, "a good ear" for music). Catulus was fond of literature, and the author of several works.

Prætextatus] "While he was a youth." Observe that Cicero speaks inaccurately of Archias, as if he were at that time a Roman youth, since the *toga prætexta* was the characteristic dress of Roman boys. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES, p. 1137.] The orator seems also to have exaggerated the youth of Archias, as he had said above, that at Antioch, before he commenced his travels, *ex pueris excesserat*. Besides it is not probable that Archias would have made so great a literary reputation while yet a youth.

Q. Metelle illi Numidico] The able and virtuous general who conducted the campaign against Jugurtha (B.C. 106), and on account of his successes in that war, assumed the title of *Numidicus*. No character in Roman history stands higher for integrity. (C.)

Ejus Pio filio] Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who received this name on account of the zeal with which he endeavoured to procure the recall of his father from exile (B.C. 99). He took an active part in the Social War, the civil war of Sulla, and the Sertorian War. (C.)

M. Æmilie] M. Æmilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115, and 108, was an orator of some reputation. He was a very successful politician, of somewhat indifferent character. (C.)

Q. Catulo . . . filio] The son of the opponent of Marius, was consul B.C. 78. He was a political leader of the aristocratical party, and a man of great worth. (C.)

L. Crasse] L. Licinius Crassus, the famous orator. Cicero speaks of him and his rival Crassus as the two greatest orators that Rome had ever known.

Lucullos] Probably the father, L. Lucullus, who was Proprætor of Sicily, B.C. 102, and his two sons, Lucius and Marcus.

Drusum] M. Livius Drusus, *tribunus plebis*, B.C. 91, who

endeavoured during his tribunate to carry out some important political changes in the same direction as the measures of the Gracchi, till his schemes were cut short by his assassination.

(C.)

[Octavio] It is uncertain who are particularly intended.

(C.)

[Catonem] Perhaps the father of Cato Uticensis, who died early. (C.)

[Hortensiorum] The great orator Hortensius (who was consul B.C. 69) was the most famous of them. (C.)

IV. *Cum esset cum M. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus*] Halm has adopted the conjecture of Schütz, *M. Lucullo*, in place of the common reading of MSS. and editions, *L. Lucullo*, because L. Lucullus the father went to his province of Sicily, B.C. 102, the *very* year in which Archias came to Rome, and therefore it could not be said that the latter left Rome with L. Lucullus "after a pretty long interval" (*satis longo intervallo*). If the common reading, *L. Lucullo*, be retained, it is probable that we should understand L. Lucullus *the son*, the luxurious conqueror of Mithridates. (C.)

[*Ex ea provincia . . . decederet*] *Decedere* is the *vox propria* of a governor quitting his province at the end of his term of office. This has been urged in favour of the opinion that L. Lucullus the father, Proprætor of Sicily, is here intended. But *decedere* may be used here in a less strict sense. (C.)

[*Æquissimo jure ac fœdere*] "Which had a fœdus with Rome on most favourable terms." This *fœdus prope singulare* (as Cicero calls it) was made in the time of Pyrrhus. (Pro Balbo, § 50.) (C.)

- 7 [Data est civitas] "The (Roman) *civitas* was granted," i.e. to those *Socii* who had not already received it under the provisions of the *Lex Julia*. This was the great political result of the Social War, in which all the permanent and substantial advantages were gained by the side which was defeated in the field. (C.)

[*Silvani lege et Carbonis*] i.e. under the *Lex Plautia et Papiria*, brought forward by M. Plautius Silvanus, and C. Papirius Carbo, the Tribunes, at the close of the Social War (B.C. 89). (C.)

[*Essent professi*] sc. *nomen*: "had given in their names."

[*Apud prætorem Q. Metallum*] Q. Metellus Pius, who was Prætor, B.C. 89.

- 8 [Nihil aliud nisi . . . dicimus] "if we only speak." Notice this very common ellipsis of *facio*. Cicero, however, does not use it very frequently; and we never find in his writings the similar ellipsis, *nihil aliud quam*, which is common in Livy and later writers. [Zumpt, § 771, and note. Madvig, 479, d, obs. 5.] (C.)

[*De civitate ac lege*] i.e. *de civitate Romana, ac de lege Plautia Papiria*.

[*Grati*] Gratus was the prosecutor. Nothing further is known of him. (C.)

Religione] "scrupulous conscientiousness," especially with regard to the obligation of an oath. The fuller expression is *religio iurijurandi*.

Se non opinari sed scire] A very emphatic expression; for *arbitrari* (which nearly = *opinari*) was the legal technical expression for witnesses giving evidence. (Cf. Cic. Acad. ii. 47. Pro Fonteio, § 19.) (C.)

Hic tu] This form implies something of *indignant* feeling, as elsewhere in Cicero.

Tabulas . . . publicas] "the public records," which were kept in the *tabularium*, or "archives." (C.)

Italico bello] Otherwise called the Marsian or Social War. (B.C. 90.) (C.)

Municipi] Before the Social War Heraclea was a *civitas foederata*, but as a consequence of that war it became a *municipium*. (C.)

V. Appii] Appius Claudius Pulcher was Prætor, B.C. 89. He was the father of P. Clodius, the profligate and notorious enemy of Cicero. (C.)

Post damnationem] Some years after his prætorship he was prosecuted *De Repetundis*, and convicted. His condemnation, by injuring his character for probity, naturally lessened the authority of his records.

Omnem tabularum fidem resignasset] "had destroyed all the credit of his records." This figurative use of *resignare* seems to be derived from the notion of breaking the seal of any deed or other document, with the object of falsifying it.

Modestissimus] This word, which has some shades of meaning very difficult to express in English, seems to signify here, "careful in the discharge of his legal duties," or the like.

Tanta diligentia fuit] "was so carefully accurate." This is a common meaning of *diligens* and *diligentia*. (C.)

In Græcia] i.e. in *Magna Græcia*, the Greek cities in the south of Italy.

Credo . . noluisse] *Credo* is used ironically, as often. In almost all other passages, however, the word in this ironical sense is put *parenthetically*. (C.)

Post civitatem datam] "After the Roman *civitas* was granted to the *Socii*." (See on § 7.)

Legem Papiam] The *Lex Papia* (under which Archias was prosecuted) banished *peregrini* from Rome. Cicero complains of the harshness of this law. (De Off. iii. § 47.) *Nam esse pro cive qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere; usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos sane inhumanum est.*

Census nostros requiris] "You ask for our censor's lists," in which the name of Archias had not been entered. (C.)

Scilicet] Ironical; "a reasonable demand, forsooth."

Proximis censoribus] At the last census (B.C. 70) Archias could not be entered, as he was in Asia with L. Lucullus, who was engaged in the Mithridatic war. (C.)

Apud exercitum fuisse] "was with the army;" a phrase used of non-military persons attending the General for any reason.

Superioribus] At the last census but one (B.C. 86) Archias was also in Asia with Lucullus, who was Sulla's Quæstor in the First Mithridatic War. (C.)

Primis] At the first appointment of censors after the *civitas* was conferred on the *Socii*, no census took place. (C.)

Testamentum sæpe fecit, &c.] Only Roman citizens had the *testamenti factio*, under which term was included the legal capacity to make a valid will, and to be made a *heres*. From both these privileges *peregrini* were excluded. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., pp. 598. 1113.] (C.)

In beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est] "had his name reported to the treasury among those who were recommended for reward." *Beneficium* often has this sense of "favour," "promotion," "reward," and such is probably its meaning in the present passage; though it has been suggested that the word *may* signify the "good service" for which the individual was reported. (C.)

- 12 **VI. Se litteris abdidit]** *Litteris* is the ablative. Cicero also uses the phrase with *in* and an accusative, *abdere se in litteras*.

Tempore] "Danger," "difficulty," i.e., when exposed to a criminal prosecution (as Archias on the present occasion); *commodo*, "help," "assistance," referring to services rendered in *causa privata*. (C.)

- 13 **Quantum . . . temporum]** On the distance of *quantum* from its dependent genitive, see on Cat. iv. § 16.

Tempestivis convivii] "Entertainments beginning before the usual time of day." In Cicero's time, and long after, the Romans usually dined at *three*. (Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 71. *Post nonam venies* (i.e., *ad canam*), Cic. Fam. ix. 26. *Accubueram hora nona*. Martial iv. 8. 6. *Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros*. But the luxurious would sit down to dinner at an earlier hour, as at *two*: (cf. Juv. i. 49. *Exul ab octava Marius bibit*), or even at *noon*. (Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 8. 3. *De medio potare die*. Ep. i. 14. 34. *Quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni*.) [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 308.] (C.)

Alveolo] "a gaming-board," on which the *tali* or *tesserae* were thrown. Some think it resembled a backgammon board. [Cf. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQ., p. 1112.] (C.)

Hoc adeo . . . magis] "so much the more." These words are to be taken together, *hoc* being an ablative. (C.)

Oratio et facultas] This is the only passage in Cicero in which these words occur in this singular connection. (1) Zumpt and others explain them as an instance of *ἐν δὲ διὰ τοῦτο* = *orationis facultas*. (1) Halm (with a hint that the text may possibly be corrupt) suggests that *oratio* may mean generally "a knowledge of the rules of oratory," *facultas*, more particularly "fluency." (C.)

Illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt] i.e. the principles of moral philosophy, in their practical bearing on life, as the context shows.

- 14 **In tot . . . dimicationes . . . objecissem]** The construction of *objicio* with *in* and the accusative, instead of the dative, is *very*

unusual. It occurs, however, again (pro Cluentio § 113) *Nego rem ullam in quemquam illorum objectam, &c.* Halm thinks that here (if the text is not corrupt) it arose from an unwillingness to use the dative *impetibus*, as the dative plural of verbal substantives in *us* hardly ever occurs in classical prose. (C.)

Profligatorum hominum] The adherents of Catiline. (C.)

Pleni sunt omnes libri &c.] "All books are full of such precepts."

Exemplorum vetustas] (1) "Antiquity with its examples." The order of the words seems to suggest that *exemplorum* depends thus on *vetustas*. (2) Others translate, "antiquity is full of examples," making *exemplorum* depend on *plena*. (C.)

Imagines . . . expressas] "fully sculptured representations." The metaphor, which sounds harsh in English, seems to refer to the more complete representation afforded by sculpture, as opposed to the mere *adumbratio* of painting. (C.)

VII. Est certum, quod respondeam] (1) "I have a definite answer to give." (2) Most editions read: *est certum quid respondeam*, "I have no doubt what answer to give." (3) Some propose to omit *certum*. (C.)

Atque idem . . . contendo] "And yet I maintain." This idiomatic use of *idem* in an adversative sense = *tamen*, is common. [Madvig, § 488. Zumpt, § 697.]

Ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ] "a systematic training, and the cultivation which results from education." So, perhaps, the words may be *paraphrased*. They hardly admit of a *literal* rendering. (C.)

Hunc . . . divinum hominem Africanum] P. Scipio Africanus 16 Minor (hence called *hunc quem patres nostri viderunt*): the amiable and virtuous conqueror of Carthage. (C.)

C. Lælius] The intimate friend of Scipio Africanus Minor. Their friendship is commemorated by Cicero in the *Lælius sive de Amicitia*. (See also the *De Senectute* and *De Republica*.) (C.)

M. Catonem illum senem] Cato Censorius, or Censor, or Major, as he was called, to distinguish him from his great-grandson, Cato Uticensis.

Ad percipiendam . . . virtutem] Probably "towards perceiving the nature of virtue." (C.)

Hanc animi remissionem] Halm has adopted this conjecture of Bonamicus in place of the harsh reading of MSS. and common editions, *animi adversionem*. The substantive *adversio* is not found elsewhere earlier than Tertullian. Some of the MSS. have *animadversionem*, which, however, does not much mend the matter. (C.)

Adolescentiam alunt] "foster youth." A conjecture in place of the reading of MSS. and common editions, *agunt*, which is not easy to translate, though some render it "occupy youth," "keep youth active." Others conjecture *acuunt*. (C.)

VIII. Roscii] Q. Roscius, the most famous comic actor at 17 Rome, so distinguished for his grace and skill in his profession, that Cicero tells us (*De Orat.* i. § 130) it became the custom to call every one "a Roscius" who attained to excellence in any

particular art. He died the year this oration was delivered (B.C. 62), having acquired a large fortune by his profession. (C.)

- 18 *Ad veterum scriptorum laudem perveniret*] "equalled the merit of the old Greek poets." Doubtless a very extravagant hyperbole of praise. (C.)

Suo jure] "with full right."

- 19 *Nulla barbaria*] "no barbarous country." (C.)

Bestiæ . . . cantu flectuntur atque consistunt] Probably Cicero refers to the fables of Orpheus and Arion; though others think there is an allusion to charming *serpents* by music. This whole passage is quoted by Quintilian with admiration as an instance of sublimity: a verdict in which modern taste will, perhaps, hesitate to concur. (C.)

Homerum . . . contendunt] The seven cities which claimed to be the birthplace of Homer are enumerated in the epigram quoted by Aulus Gellius (N. Att. xiii. 11):

Ἐπὶ πόλεις διερίζουσιν περὶ ρίζαν Ὀμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφῶν, Σαλαμῖν, Χίος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

Or in its Latin form,

*Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodes, Argos, Athenæ,
Orbis de patria, certat, Homere, tua.*

Modern critics pronounce generally that Smyrna has the best claim to the honour. The shrine of Homer at Smyrna is also mentioned by Strabo (xiv. 37). (C.)

IX. Olim] "long ago." (C.)

- 20 *Aversus a Musis*] = *ἄμουσος*.

Acroama] "musician" or "reciter." See on Verr. iv. § 49.

- 21 *In multa varietate*] "with various fluctuations."

Non maxima manu . . . innumerabiles copias] In the battle of Tigranocerta (B.C. 69), in which Lucullus defeated the Armenians under Tigranes, fighting against such overwhelming odds (according to Plutarch, 10,000 Romans against 200,000 Armenians) that Tigranes is said to have observed scornfully before the battle, *εἰ μὲν ὡς πρεσβεύται, πολλοὶ πάρεσιν· εἰ δὲ ὡς στρατιῶται, ὀλίγοι* (Plut. Lucull., ch. 26, 27).

Urbem . . . Cyzicenorū] When Cyzicus was besieged by Mithridates, Lucullus marched to its relief, cut off the supplies of Mithridates, and forced him to raise the siege, almost annihilating his army (B.C. 73). (C.)

Nostra semper feretur . . . depressa hostium classis est] "That incredible battle . . . when the enemy's fleet was sunk, will always be reckoned as our achievement."

Apud Tenedum pugna] In the seafight off Tenedos Lucullus totally defeated the powerful fleet of Mithridates (B.C. 73). (C.)

- 22 *Etiam in sepulcro Scipionum, &c.*] This circumstance is also mentioned by Livy (xxxviii. 56), Pliny, &c. The tomb of the Scipios was discovered A.D. 1780. It was a common custom of the Romans to bury friends in their family sepulchres, as we learn from many inscriptions.

Hujus proavus Cato] Cato Censorius, the great-grandfather

of Cato Uticensis. Perhaps the pronoun *hujus* is applied to the latter because he was present at the delivery of this speech. (C.)

Maximi] Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the cautious opponent of Hannibal. (C.)

Marcelli] M. Claudius Marcellus, who besieged and took Syracuse. (C.)

Fulvii] Cicero probably alludes more particularly to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who was consul B.C. 89, and subdued Ætolia; whom Ennius accompanied during his campaign, and through whose son he received the Roman *civitas*. (C.)

X. Rudium hominem] Rudis in Calabria was the birth-place of the poet Ennius.

Nam si quis, &c.] Cicero answers an *implied* objection, that 23 whereas Ennius had written in Latin, Archias had only written in Greek.

Regionibus] "limits," "boundaries," as often. (C.)

De vita . . . dimicant] "expose their lives in battle." Cf. the Greek phrase *περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγωνίζεσθαι*. (C.)

Quam multos scriptores, &c.] The best and most accurate 24 account of the campaigns of Alexander the Great is contained in Arrian's *Ἀνδραγισ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, which is based on the contemporary narratives of Ptolemæus and Aristobulus.

Qui . . . inveneris] "Because you have found." *Qui*, as usual, takes the subjunctive as expressing the reason. (C.)

Noster hic Magnus] Pompey. *Hic* does not imply that Pompey was *present*, but merely contrasts a *living* hero with the remoter *magnus ille Alexander*. (C.)

Itaque, credo] An ironical supposition, as often. 25

Subjecisset] "had put (or thrust) into his hands."

Tantum modo alternis versibus, &c.] i. e. which had no other merit than that they consisted of alternate hexameters and pentameters.

Ex iis rebus, quas tum vendebat] Plutarch relates (Sulla, 33) that Sulla took his seat on the Tribunal, and himself conducted the sale of the confiscated property of the proscribed. (C.)

Aliquo tamen præmio] i. e. bad as the poet was.

Pingue quiddam] "something coarse and inelegant." 26

Aures suas dederet] "listened attentively."

XI. Prædicari de se ac nominari] i. e. *volunt se nominari, et volunt de se prædicari, prædicari* being used impersonally. Halm, however, suggests that *se* should be inserted before *nominari* in the text.

Decimus . . . Brutus] Decimus Brutus Callæcus, consul B.C. 27 138, the conqueror of the Lusitani and Callæci, a man of some literary attainments.

Attii] L. Attius or Accius, the old tragic poet, born B.C. 170.

Fulvius, &c.] M. Fulvius Nobilior, who conquered the Ætolians, brought from Ambracia the *Muses* of Zeuxis, and placed them in the *Ædes Herculis et Musarum*, which he built in the Circus Flaminius at Rome.

- Imperatores prope armati] "generals who had hardly laid down their arms," i. e. who had but just returned from war.
- 29 Regionibus] "boundaries," "limits," as in § 23. (C.)
 Nunc insidet, &c.] = *nûv δè*, "but now," "but as the case really stands," to oppose the *actual state* of things to a *supposed* case.
- 31 XII. Pudore] "honour," "propriety." (C.)
 Ex eo numero, qui . . sunt habiti] Notice this instance of the relative in the *plural* following a collective noun. [Zumpt, § 366. Madvig, § 317, c.]
 Itaque dicti] = *et ita dicti*, = *talesque dicti*. (Cf. Cicero Brut. § 57, *eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum*.) (C.)
- 32 Quæ a forensi aliena judicialique consuetudine] A bold conjecture of Halm for the corrupt and unintelligible reading of MSS., *quæ firmæ a me judicialique consuetudine*. There are other conjectural emendations. (C.)
 Ab eo, qui iudicium exercent] His brother, Q. Cicero, according to the Scholiast. (C.)

THE END.

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